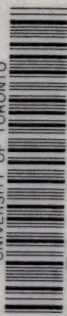


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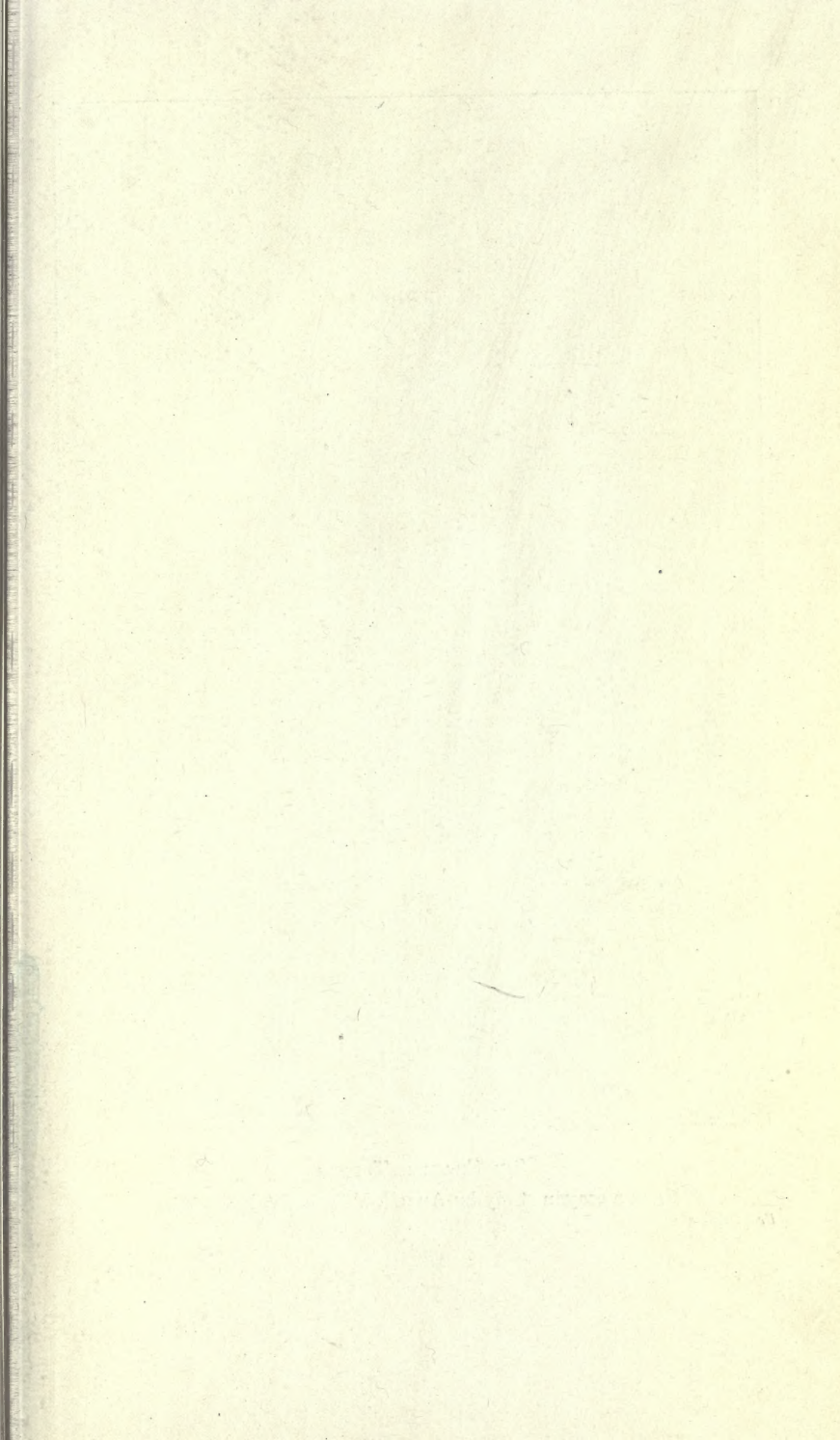
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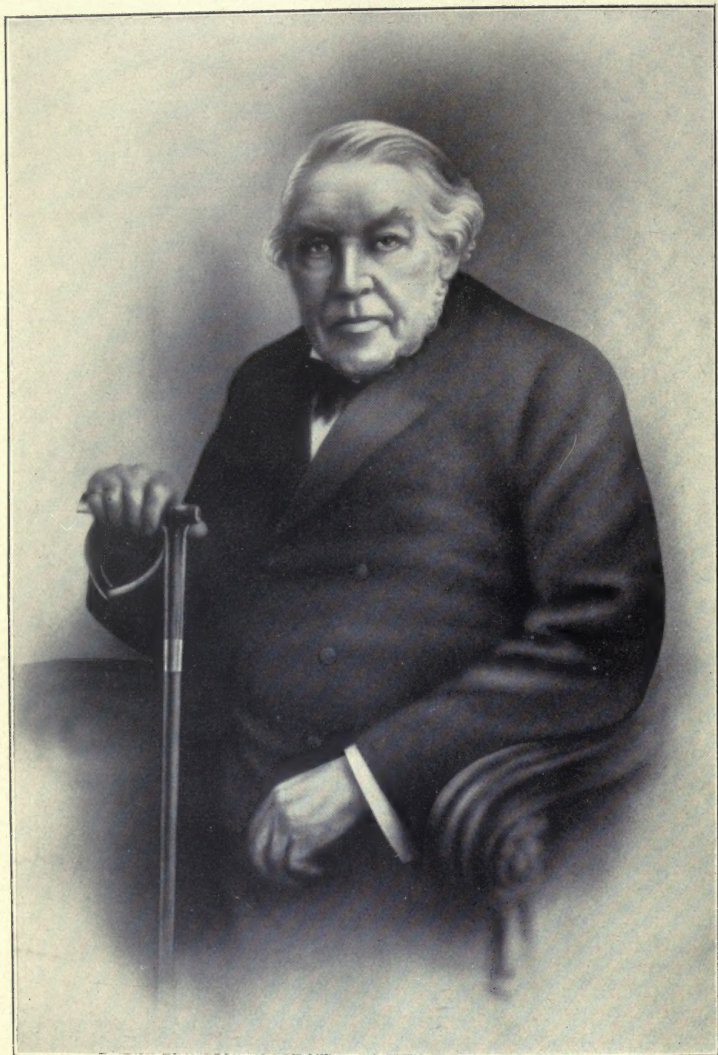
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**POLITICAL REMINISCENCES OF
SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.**





SIR CHARLES TUPPER

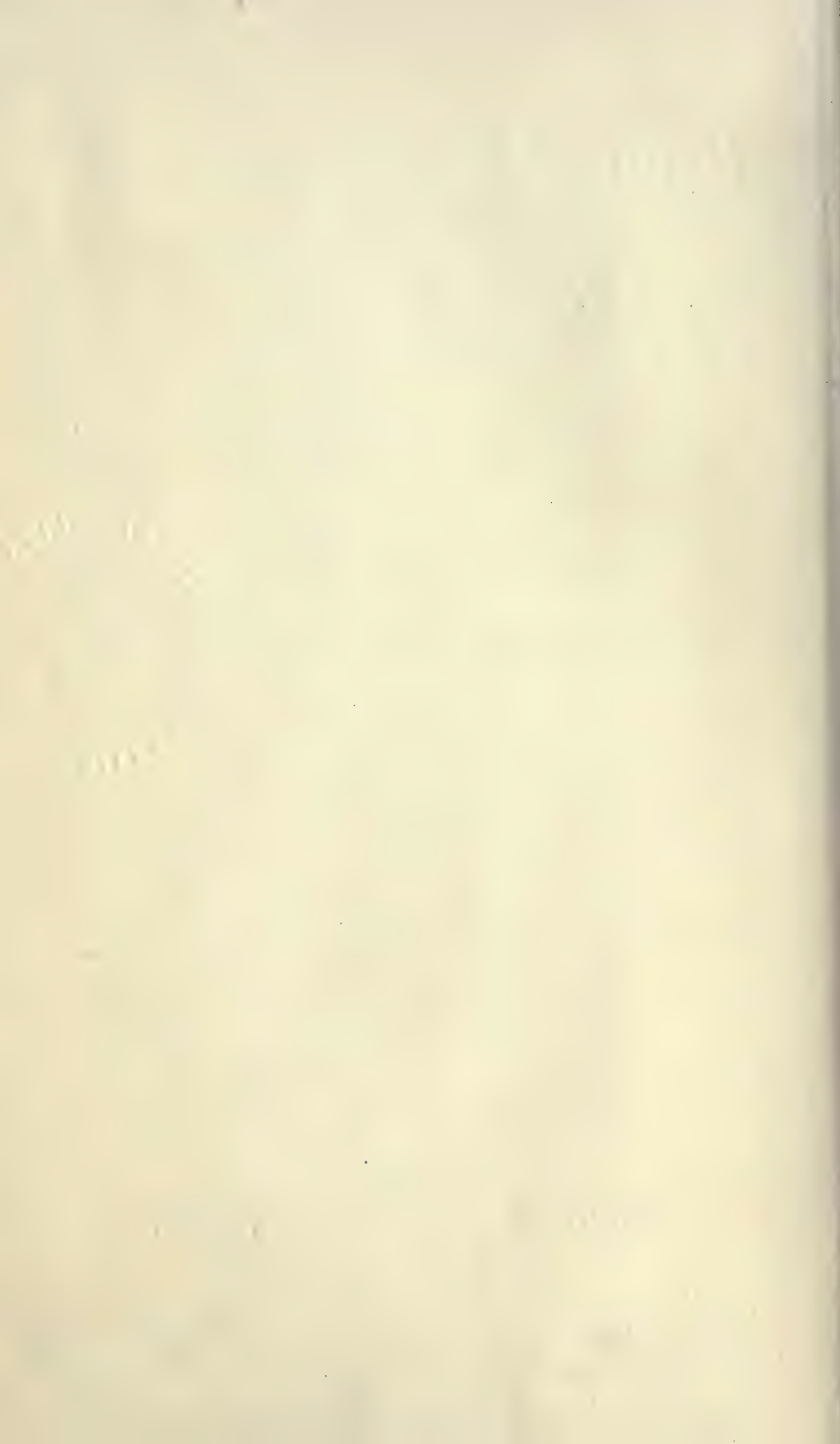
From a crayon study by Angell, Vancouver, B C., 1913

Frontispiece

*Political Reminiscences of
The Right Honourable
Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.,
G.C.M.G., K.C.M.G., C.B., P.C., M.A.,
D.C.L., Hon. LL.D. Cambridge, Edinburgh,
Acadia and Queen's Universities ; M.D.
Transcribed and Edited by the late
W. A. Harkin. With a Biographical
Sketch and an Appendix ¶ ¶ ¶*

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LONDON
CONSTABLE & COMPANY LTD.
1914



PREFACE

IN the autumn of 1912, Sir Charles Tupper, who was then residing in Vancouver, B.C., was prevailed upon by the late W. A. Harkin to converse with some continuity on the subject of his political experiences. Mr. Harkin had known the aged statesman in former years, and as a member of the Press Gallery at Ottawa had reported many of his speeches. In the end, this conversation broadened out into a series of interviews, the last of which was given in April, 1913. Mr. Harkin was at the time an active newspaper man, and his extended reports of these interviews appeared from time to time in the "Vancouver Daily Province," with which journal he was connected. His skill as a practised writer was exhibited in translating these necessarily colloquial memories into readable manuscript. But the printer's proofs of this "copy" had the benefit of revision by Sir Charles Tupper before their appearance in newspaper columns. The result may therefore be taken as authentic and authorized.

Preface

It was the intention of Mr. Harkin to publish these reminiscences in book form, and he was preparing them with that end in view at the time of his sudden and lamented death in September, 1913. To two of his friends has come the task of carrying out his unfulfilled purpose. These pages, therefore, are not only a record of political experiences; they are also a memorial of the ability and enterprise which first gave those reminiscent conversations a tangible shape.

These reconstructions of the past by the only survivor of that group of distinguished men who helped to mould the destinies of Canada at the crucial period of Confederation have, naturally, a unique interest. This story from living lips has a quality that is apart from any personal considerations. It will appeal to the student of Canadian annals, and to the historian. It will be valued by the general body of thoughtful citizens, both in Canada and the Empire at large. The prominent and patriotic part played by Sir Charles Tupper amid the portentous difficulties that surrounded Confederation, and his effective and far-seeing statesmanship on that and subsequent occasions, are now acknowledged and admired by all Canadians, irrespective of party. It may be hoped that these records will be an inspiration to those who now have to build upon the foundations laid by

Preface

others, and upon whose public spirit and recognition of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship the future welfare of the Dominion will depend.

Besides compiling from various sources a biographical sketch of Sir Charles Tupper, the Editors have, in an appendix to the present volume, reprinted the Hansard report of one of his most important speeches in the House of Commons in Ottawa. This remarkable specimen of political oratory will afford the reader an opportunity of judging of the powers of the veteran statesman when he was in the prime of life. For comprehensive and detailed grasp of the matters in hand, for lucid exposition, and for accumulative force this speech has received a deserved meed of praise.

BERNARD McEVOY,
A. E. GREENWOOD.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

January, 1914.

NOTE

THE Editors have thought it inadvisable to interfere with the general character of the following chapters as a republication of articles written for a daily newspaper. As such they have a freshness and vitality which will commend them to appreciative readers.

IN MEMORIAM
WILLIAM A. HARKIN

IT seems almost impossible to dissociate William A. Harkin ("Billy," as he was affectionately called) from his work. He was a most accomplished and enthusiastic newspaper man. After that, though combined with it, perhaps his most characteristic quality was the indefinable charm which goes with being a gentleman. William Harkin was a gentleman in the truest sense. Breeding was apparent in him, and the manner that must be born and cannot be made. He had a sympathetic soul, and if the natural simplicity of his nature had derived a certain defensive armour of sophistication from contact with the world, it needed but a moment's converse to show that he had still the heart of a child. He had an extraordinary faculty of being interested in things and people. Veneration was strong in him; by nature and early training he was incapable of assuming the *nil admirari* attitude. Perhaps he

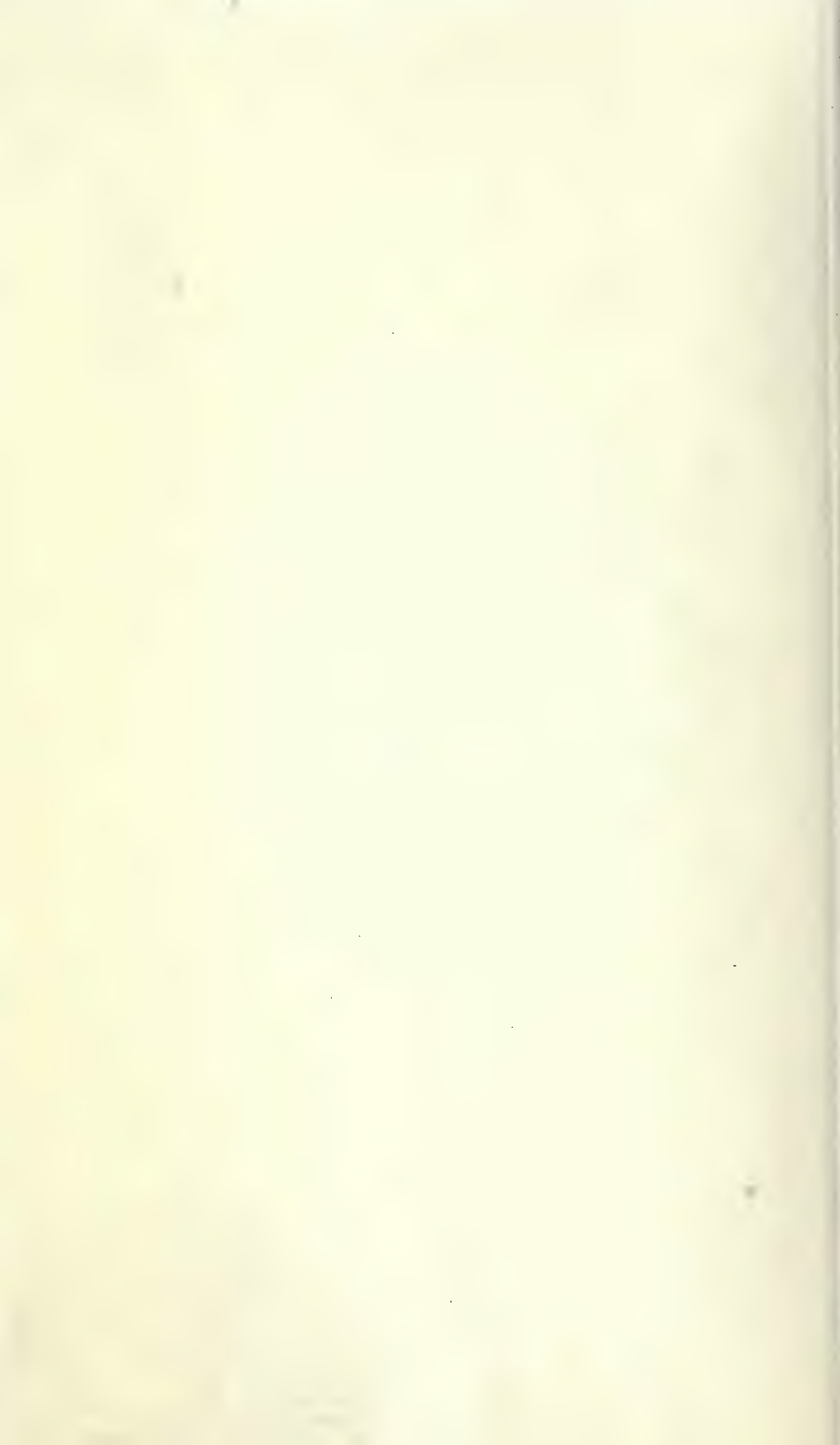
In Memoriam

was a little too ready to admire, where his heart went, and to place halos on heads that were not really worthy of them. His mental portrait gallery contained pictured paladins and Galahads that would scarcely have been recognized by their subjects or contemporaries. When to this was added a never-failing and sincere politeness of address and a finish of manners rarely met with, it will be seen that as an interviewer for newspaper purposes he was exceptionally well furnished. Besides, his knowledge of Canada and its people and politics was profound and discerning. He had been behind the scenes, and was able to estimate the true value of movements and happenings. His duties for the last few years of his life included the visiting and conversing with every person of any importance who came to the Pacific coast of Canada, and he therefore had a very large acquaintance with prominent people. He combined with his gracious and respectful manner towards everybody a considerable amount of penetrative insight into human nature. He sometimes recognized the bearings of a man's projects before they had begun to make any noise in the commercial world. He could estimate the importance of the aristocrat, and the worth of the newly rich. Nor was he deficient in intellectual capacity or resources. He was fond of reading a "stiff"



WILLIAM A. HARKIN

From a photograph by Carpenter, Rossland, B.C., 1902



In Memoriam

book, and of wandering, mentally, among philosophical abstractions. He could grasp the main lines of the pet theories of the travelling scientist, and he was at home with the wayworn, sun-burned prospector just back from a year's toilsome search in the mountains for precious minerals. As an emissary of the Press, sent out to new neighbourhoods to gather facts and impressions, he frequently gave evidence of large powers of observation and description, and his reports in this regard are of permanent value.

In the daily newspaper, with its everlasting search after the news, and its effort to show "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure," Harkin found a sphere exactly suited to his abilities. An acute observer, he also possessed a retentive memory.

We were accustomed to see him rush into the newspaper offices, his finely-cut features suffused with enthusiasm, and his expressive eyes radiant with purpose. It was a part of him always to be neat and careful in his attire—he was never slipshod. He would pull off his coat, place a few pages of scattered notes on his desk, and immediately begin hammering away at his typewriter as if for dear life. Probably not even an expert could read all that his few pages of scribbled notes meant to him. But the readable manuscript that presently went into the com-

In Memoriam

posing-room had upon it the unmistakable mark of vitality. His whole nervously alert being had been concentrated on making it a graphic presentment of his most recent experience.

William A. Harkin was born in Prescott County, Ontario, about fifty years ago, and his boyhood and early youth were spent in the town of Vankleek Hill—just half-way between Montreal and Ottawa. His father was a physician with a large practice, but he found time to take a share in public affairs, and was elected by the county of Prescott to a seat in the Ontario Legislature. His end was sudden and tragic, for while addressing the House he dropped dead.

His son, the subject of this memoir, after completing his education at Vankleek Hill and at Ottawa, began his career as a journalist in the latter city, and from that time till the day of his death lived a busy life. Soon after going to Ottawa he began to devote himself to what may be called political journalism, and for a number of years was a member of the Parliamentary Press gallery.

His work at Ottawa was characterized by tireless energy, a genius for making friends, and a wonderful success in obtaining news—chiefly political news—which made his services of great value to the newspapers he served. In the course of his long career as a journalist he was

In Memoriam

associated with many events which have directed the course of Canadian history during the last quarter of a century—with such events as the Riel Rebellion, and with the leading issues in federal politics during the closing years of the premiership of Sir John A. Macdonald, and the period that immediately followed. It was one of these events—the Riel Rebellion—that first took him to Western Canada. He went to the front as one of the special correspondents of the “Montreal Daily Star,” and his interesting reports from the field were read with absorbing interest. He afterwards became city editor of that newspaper. Later he went to Rossland, B.C., and for some years devoted himself to mining affairs. Returning to journalism, he rejoined the staff of the “Montreal Star,” and eventually went to the Pacific coast, where he was engaged in newspaper work on the “Vancouver Daily Province” until his sudden and lamented death September 21st, 1913. He died on a Sunday morning. The end came as the result of a paralytic stroke early on the previous Friday, after which he never regained consciousness. Although he had been unwell for some days, he had seemed, on the Thursday before, to be recovering his usual health, and had been out for a stroll with a friend before returning to his apartments for the last time. Mr. Harkin was

In Memoriam

never married. His mortal dust rests in peace in the Mountain View Cemetery, Vancouver. Many appreciative and sympathetic notices in the Press both of Eastern and Western Canada testified to the widespread respect and affection in which he was held by fellow journalists and by a large section of the general public. The Editors much regret that the only available portrait of the author of this book is one that was taken a dozen years ago. It will, however, serve to recall to those who knew him, the expression of his eye, and the general contour of his well-remembered face.

CONTENTS

I

INTRODUCTORY

	PAGE
Sir Charles Tupper at Vancouver in 1912—Retrospective—Only living “Father of Confederation”—Pen-picture of Sir Charles at ninety-one—How the Reminiscences came to be written	1

II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ancestors—Grandfather emigrates from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia—His son, Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D.—Birth of Sir Charles Tupper—His education at Wolfville, N.S.—Destined by his father for the medical profession—Goes to Edinburgh University—Begins practice at Amherst, N.S.—Career as a medical man—First political speech—Enters provincial politics—Defeats Hon. Joseph Howe—Foreshadowings of Canadian Confederation—Sir Charles as a vigorous High Commissioner in London—His last visit to Amherst	8
---	---

III

THE STORY OF CONFEDERATION

Relates reminiscences of Federal Union of Canadian Provinces—Estimate of Sir John Macdonald and other notable men of that period—Charlottetown conference called—Conference at Quebec—Hon. Joseph Howe converted to the support of a United Dominion—Mis-	
---	--

Contents

	PAGE
sions to England and interviews with statesmen— Howe's <i>volte face</i> —The battle shifts from Halifax to London—Controversial work there—Characterization of the "Fathers of Confederation"—Forming the First Federal Government—Interview with John Bright—Stormy session of 1870—Howe is created Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia—Tupper enters Sir John's Cabinet as President of the Council, June 21, 1870—Death of Howe shortly after accepting office as Lieut.-Governor	26

IV

THE TRIP TO FORT GARRY

Dangerous mission in the winter of '69 to interview the rebel leader Riel—Demand for return of his daughter's stolen baggage—Perilous overland journey into hostile country—Acquisition of North-west Territories and extinguishment of title vested in Hudson's Bay Co.— Half-breeds' fears and first rebellion—Encounter with Indians—Hardships endured by Tupper and Smith (Lord Strathcona)—Meetings with Riel—The return journey—Subject bitterly debated in House of Commons —Government survives the storm	53
--	----

V

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Early colonial leaders oppose efforts to change status of Crown colony—Isolation would have led to absorption by U.S.A.—Offer of a transcontinental railway—Legis- lative Council send delegation to Ottawa—Last session of Legislative Council and acceptance of terms of union —Terms of union opposed by Liberals at Ottawa— First General Election after Confederation—Sir John A. Macdonald's reduced majority—Session of 1873 and Pacific slander—Sir John A. Macdonald resigns, but again comes into power in 1878—Surveys for trans- continental railway—British Columbia's great destiny	82
---	----

Contents

VI

RAILWAY POLICY

	PAGE
Sir Charles Tupper takes folio of Railways and Canals— Determination of route of transcontinental railway— Liberal opposition to the scheme led by Edward Blake —Tupper's proposals for building of railway—Inter- esting British capital in the scheme—Original Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate—Vigorous campaigning— The Railway Bill carried—Sir Charles Tupper's first official trip of inspection—He goes to London as High Commissioner—Critical period for Canadian Pacific Railway—Sir Charles summoned to Ottawa—Proposes loan of \$30,000,000 to Canadian Pacific Railway— Loan carried and afterwards repaid	97

VII

THE "NATIONAL POLICY"

Sir Charles Tupper sponsor of "National Policy"—The Pacific slander—Details of the Investigation—Inter- view of Sir Charles with Lord Dufferin—Elections of 1874—Sir John A. Macdonald's political nadir—Conse- quences of abrogation of Elgin treaty—Sir Charles in Opposition goes back to medicine—Following up Mac- kenzie, the Liberal Premier—Pacific slander charges de- molished—Advocates radical change in fiscal system— A five hours' speech—Tupper and Cartwright—Sir John A. Macdonald returns to power—Success of the National Policy	120
--	-----

VIII

INTERESTING DETAILS

Recapitulating memories—Sir Charles offered the leader- ship in succession—Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper—Sir Charles Tupper's last campaign—Close of Sir John A. Macdonald's career—Postal congress in Vienna—The iron industry—Transpacific service—Fast Atlantic service	144
---	-----

Contents

IX

CONSERVATIVE DEFEAT

	PAGE
Session of 1895 and after—The Manitoba school question— The Mackenzie-Bowell Cabinet—Sir Charles assumes leadership—Appoints Lord Strathcona High Commis- sioner—Manitoba Remedial Bill—General Election and defeat of the Government—Sir Charles sustains first personal defeat—Lost office, but not power—Urges Laurier to send South African contingent—Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper proposes Mr. Borden as Leader of Oppo- sition—Newfoundland and Canada—Unionists and food taxes—Unrivalled resources of Canada	159

X

EMPIRE CONSOLIDATION

History of the movement—Delegation to England in 1879— A proposition submitted to Sir Michael Hicks Beach— Discussion of the question in 1884—Toronto branch of Imperial Federation League—Speech at annual dinner in 1889—Correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald— Lord Salisbury and Imperial Federation—The Belgian and German treaties—Speech at Montreal—Conference of 1897—Article in "Nineteenth Century"—Treaties and Canadian commissioners	170
--	-----

XI

THE FISHERIES TREATY

Protection of Atlantic coast fisheries—Action of Sir Charles Tupper in the matter—Interviews Mr. Bayard, American Secretary of State—Appointed joint plenipotentiary with Mr. Chamberlain—Advises the latter to seek an interview with Mr. Bayard—The treaty successfully arranged—Queen Victoria honours Sir Charles Tupper— Letter from Lord Salisbury—Strained relations between Canada and the United States—Important results of the treaty—A tribute to Sir Charles	189
APPENDIX	199
INDEX	297

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SIR CHARLES TUPPER (1913)	.	.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
			FACING PAGE
WILLIAM A. HARKIN	.	.	x
BIRTHPLACE OF SIR CHARLES TUPPER	.	.	10
HOUSE AT AMHERST, N.S.	.	.	14
SIR CHARLES TUPPER (1877)	.	.	92
FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM SIR CHARLES TUPPER	.	.	102
SIR CHARLES TUPPER (1898)	.	.	162

POLITICAL REMINISCENCES
OF
SIR CHARLES TUPPER

I

12
INTRODUCTORY

VANCOUVER, *September*, 1912.

LITTLE did Dr. Tupper dream in 1860, when advocating with voice and pen the confederation of the scattered provinces of British North America, that he would make his home, more than half a century later, in a city, then unborn, on the shores of the Pacific.

Now in the evening of his years he is the most honoured citizen in a young and prosperous nation conscious of its noble heritage and great destiny.

History, which is more just and more accurate than that of a former age, has already given the veteran statesman full credit for the mighty part he played in one of the most dramatic

Sir Charles Tupper

constitutional struggles of modern times, and his later achievements in laying broad and deep the foundations of the young Dominion, and thus paving the way for a solidarity of sentiment now crystallizing in the shape of a real and practical unity of the Mother Country and the rest of the British Empire. The substantial aid of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in the South African war, the granting of British preferential trade by the Dominion, New Zealand's gift of Dreadnoughts, and Premier Borden's recent mission to London, form in perspective epoch-making events in which the course of the movement is plainly discernible.

A grateful people, irrespective of party, now acknowledges the invaluable services Sir Charles Tupper rendered to his country, recognizes the magnitude of the struggle he engaged in almost single-handed at the outset in overcoming opposition to confederation in Nova Scotia, and appreciates at its true worth the self-effacement he displayed in stepping aside to permit other men from his native province to enter the Cabinet after he had won the victory. No such difficulties had to be overcome in Ontario and Quebec, because both parties sunk their differences to bring about the union.

Of the galaxy of far-seeing nation-builders who moulded the beginning of the memorable

Introductory

Confederation, Sir Charles Tupper alone survives. By general assent the "Father of Canada" is everywhere honoured as "Canada's Grand Old Man." Gone are his famous colleagues, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier, Hon. George Brown, and lesser luminaries who, each in his humble way, had a share in solving the numerous problems that endangered the success of the great political experiment.

Sir Charles at ninety-one is an interesting psychological study, as much for his present outlook on life at that advanced age, as on account of his remarkable achievements. The oldest living statesman in the world, he reminds one of a stately and venerable oak which, unaffected by the storms of earlier years, still exhibits a wonderful vitality. Unlike men twenty years his junior, who are living in the past, and who have lost all concern in everything except their immediate surroundings, Sir Charles still feels the pulse-beat of the world day by day.

His mind is as keen and plastic, his memory, even of recent happenings, as clear as they were during his early manhood. He is at once a surprise and a revelation to friends and relatives. He is a constant reader of the magazines and newspapers, watching with deep interest the progress of events at home and abroad.

Sir Charles Tupper

Given up by the attending physicians in England last winter when suffering from an attack of bronchitis, Sir Charles recovered only to receive a severe blow a few months later by the death of Lady Tupper, his devoted helpmate for over sixty-six years. To her inspiration he has ascribed much of the success of his public career from the day when as a young doctor he entered the political lists and defeated Hon. Joseph Howe, Premier and leader of the Liberal party. Home to Nova Scotia last spring he accompanied the remains to the place of interment at Halifax.

Happily the forebodings as to his health were not realized, and now that he is under the devoted care of his son, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, and his family, the health of the venerable statesman has greatly improved. The breezes of the Pacific seem to have given him a new lease of life.

His physical vigour is indicated by the fact that he is able with assistance to frequently take short walks in the vicinity of his son's house, adjacent to Stanley Park. Occasionally he varies this routine with a motor drive to enjoy the ocean breezes and survey the magic growth of Greater Vancouver.

The Tupper residence is the Mecca of scores of visitors desirous of paying their respect and

Introductory

homage to Canada's Grand Old Man. The list includes many former parliamentary colleagues of both parties, including members of the administration now in power at Ottawa. Sir Charles is partial to old friends, but everybody receives a cordial welcome.

Visitors return impressed with his remarkable memory and the brightness of his undimmed intellect. He discusses with equal facility any topic that arises during conversation, showing a partiality for contemporary events, especially in the field of Dominion or Imperial politics.

Sir Charles does not look his great age. It is true his shoulders are slightly stooped, but he now enjoys improved health, giving hope for the belief that he will live to celebrate his hundredth birthday. His voice is still clear and resonant, his hearing excellent, and he never uses glasses except when reading. His complexion has a ruddy freshness that is surprising in one of his years.

Courage, forcefulness, and tenacity of purpose are still clearly revealed in those massive features, surmounted by a large forehead. The eyes still flash with something of their old fire when the subject under discussion is an appealing one, and there is then also a tightening of the lines around an unusually strong chin. It is difficult to realize that sixty years have elapsed

Sir Charles Tupper

since he delivered his first political speech. The former sobriquets applied to him in an earlier day : " War Horse of Cumberland," and " The Fighting Doctor," were justly merited.

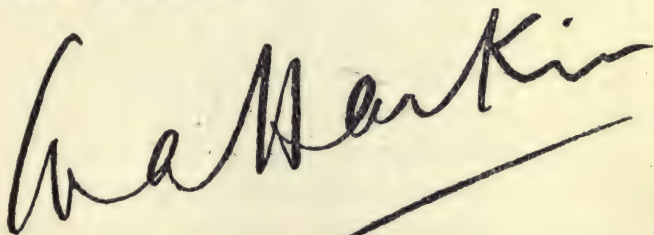
It was recently my good fortune to renew my acquaintance with the distinguished statesman whose eloquent and convincing speeches in the House of Commons at Ottawa I had often chronicled from the Press gallery. I found him the same forceful personality, softened perhaps a trifle with the passage of the years. At my request, Sir Charles, now that all the other actors in the drama have passed away, discussed with the utmost freedom many of the events of the struggle that ended in the confederation of the various provinces. He dwelt on many phases of the political evolution of the Dominion after 1867, the building of the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific Railways, his career in England, his return to Canada, acceptance of the Premiership and resignation in 1896.

His observations and reminiscences throw an interesting sidelight on the tremendous difficulties that had to be overcome in the fight for a broader and more comprehensive form of government. Sir Charles also reviewed the Charlotte-town and Quebec conferences, showing how narrowly the project escaped destruction ; and the subsequent meetings in London to prepare

Introductory

the final draft of our present Constitution. His estimate of the framers of Confederation—the men he knew so intimately—their strength, weaknesses and foibles, all sympathetically portrayed, will possess no little historical importance; likewise a description of his thrilling experience in journeying alone in the winter of 1869 to Fort Garry, and his remarkable interview with Louis Riel, the half-breed leader, and Father Richot.

Sir Charles also devoted much of his talk to his great political opponent, Hon. Joseph Howe, whom he lived to see converted to the cause of Confederation and serving as a member of the same Cabinet. Their joint debate at Truro, in the campaign of 1867, is as famous to-day in the Maritime provinces as the celebrated duel between Lincoln and Stephen Douglas on the slavery question at Springfield, Ill., before the American Civil War.



W. A. Mackenzie

II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

THE Tupper family is of Teutonic origin. One branch of it settled in Sandwich (England), a second in Amsterdam, and a third in the Channel Islands. Sir Charles is a descendant of the Sandwich branch. In 1635 Thomas Tupper emigrated from Sandwich to Massachusetts, where he, with eight other incorporators, founded the town of Sandwich, since renamed Lynn. Thomas Tupper married the daughter of Governor Mayhew of Massachusetts, the governor settling on the young couple an estate on which they built their home, a house that was occupied by a member of the Tupper family for the better part of three centuries. In 1763 Sir Charles Tupper's grandfather emigrated from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia, taking possession of Crown lands vacated by the deported Acadian French, where Sir Charles's father, the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was born, and where Sir Charles himself was born on July 2nd, 1821. He is the ninth descendant of a Tupper in a direct line of whom records can be traced.

Biographical Sketch

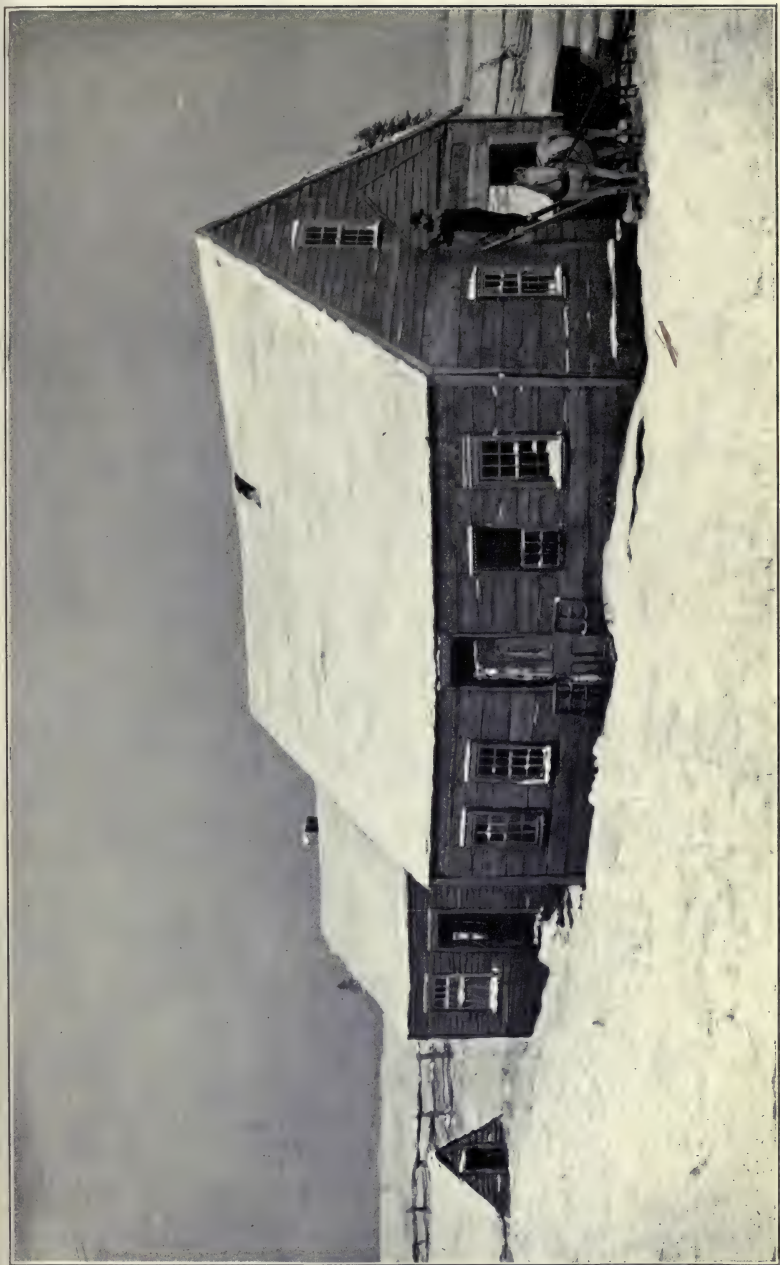
Perusing the records of the family with a view to discovering any evidence there may be that the gifts of Sir Charles are hereditary, we find that while his ancestors were noteworthy for sterling character and abounding common sense, his grandmother emerges from the background of the past as a woman of extraordinary talents. Rev. Dr. Saunders, in his interesting and valuable work "Three Premiers of Nova Scotia" (Briggs, Toronto), from which many of these biographical particulars are taken, remarks that a number of members of the family have been distinguished for their gifts, and especially for their aptitude in acquiring languages. Sir Charles Tupper's father had this talent. Though his labours as a pastor were hard and incessant, yet by his phenomenal industry he acquired a reading knowledge of thirteen languages and a critical knowledge of some of them. It may therefore be taken for granted that young Tupper passed his adolescent and formative period in an atmosphere of culture, plain living and high thinking. He had the best possible opportunities of acquiring a vocabulary which, while based on a solid Anglo-Saxon foundation, was enriched from other sources. He had the inestimable advantage of being a member of a family whose ideals were high, and in which the virtues of courage and devotion to duty were constantly displayed.

Sir Charles Tupper

His father, for one year, was principal of the grammar school at Amherst, Nova Scotia. During this time he discharged the duties of a minister of the gospel to the Baptist church at that place. He had married Mrs. Lowe, a widow. Three sons were the offspring of the union, of whom Charles was the youngest. A very interesting paragraph in the journal of this worthy and learned man is as follows :—

“ Having decided, on mature deliberation to give my son Charles an education in order that he might be prepared to enter the medical profession ; on August 1st, 1837, I sent him to our educational institution at Wolfville ” (Horton Academy and Acadia College).

Charles Tupper, junior, took the usual course, and later engaged in advanced studies at this seat of learning, now celebrated as the Alma Mater of many well-known Canadians. Sixteen when he entered its portals, he passed out of them at the age of nineteen. After some preliminary medical studies with Dr. Harding of Windsor, Nova Scotia, he left his native land for Edinburgh in 1840. It is interesting to recall some outstanding events by way of placing this date in its proper perspective. On June 20th, 1837, Queen Victoria ascended the throne. Young Tupper went to his college in Nova Scotia a few weeks afterwards. In the same year the



BIRTHPLACE OF SIR CHARLES TUPPER NEAR AMHERST, N.S.

Biographical Sketch

first railway was opened in England. There were no railways anywhere else. In 1840, the year that Tupper went to Edinburgh, the Queen married Prince Albert. King Edward VII was not born until a year later. As for Canada, pathless forests were the rule and "modern improvements" the exception. It took several days to get from Montreal to Toronto—the latter was then called York, and, familiarly, "Muddy York." But in the older settled Maritime Provinces, of which Nova Scotia was one, prosperous farms dotted the landscape, the culture of the apple had made a good beginning, timber had proved its value, and maple sugar, and potash—the product of forest trees burned by the farmers—were eagerly utilized products. The Maritime Provinces afforded an environment for the development of strong individual character. The period was favourable. Time could not have provided a better cradle for the embryo statesman who was to help to mould the future of Canada. He learned to know his native province in the rough. But around his upbringing were the traditions of the older lands. The pioneer Horton Academy and Acadia College taught the sons and grandsons of the settlers. But they were in touch with the philosophy of the centuries.

The voyage to Scotland was made in a sailing

Sir Charles Tupper

vessel that took six weeks over it. Arriving in Glasgow the young student had to proceed to Edinburgh by the stage-coach. He entered for his medical course at the University of that city, and for three years pursued his medical and surgical studies there. It may be supposed that he brought to them the vigour and thoroughness which has always distinguished him. In 1843 he was admitted as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. Later in the year he took his degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University. His age was now twenty-two. He had made good use of his six years of training. And now—equipped for the work of life—he turned his face again towards his native land. Arrived in Nova Scotia he began practice in the county of Cumberland amid the surroundings of his youth, making Amherst his head-quarters.

The medical profession is always an arduous one, and the beginning of a practice is usually an anxious time for the young practitioner. But between the medical profession as practised in our large cities, and the same calling as the conditions were in Cumberland county in “the forties,” there is a great gulf. A practising doctor needed the constitution of a horse, and in winter the courage and the clothing of an Arctic explorer. Dr. Tupper pursued the duties of his profession in Cumberland for twelve years, but

Biographical Sketch

his was never the life of a fashionable city physician. Effective he was, and well known he became; the implicitly trusted medical adviser of a whole countryside; for it was understood there that if Tupper gave you up you might as well turn your face to the wall, and, vice versa, that till he had given you up there was every reason to hope for recovery. But at what an expense to himself of body and brain this singularly well-earned fame was obtained, only those can judge who have studied the records of those days, and who know something of the arduous life of the country doctor. Dr. Tupper's superior talents, dominating personality, and efficiency in his profession soon attracted public attention throughout a wide district. In person he was of medium height, straight, muscular, and wiry. He had intense nervous energy which gave him quickness of movement and ceaseless mental activity. His field of operations was extensive, and in both winter and summer the roads were, as usual, good, bad, and indifferent, with a tendency towards the last two qualifications. Driving in sleigh or other vehicle, or riding on horseback, he went from place to place, sometimes in deep and drifted snow, and at other times in mud more difficult than the worst snow-drift. "In his twelve years of practice," says Dr. Saunders, "mountainous obstacles became a

Sir Charles Tupper

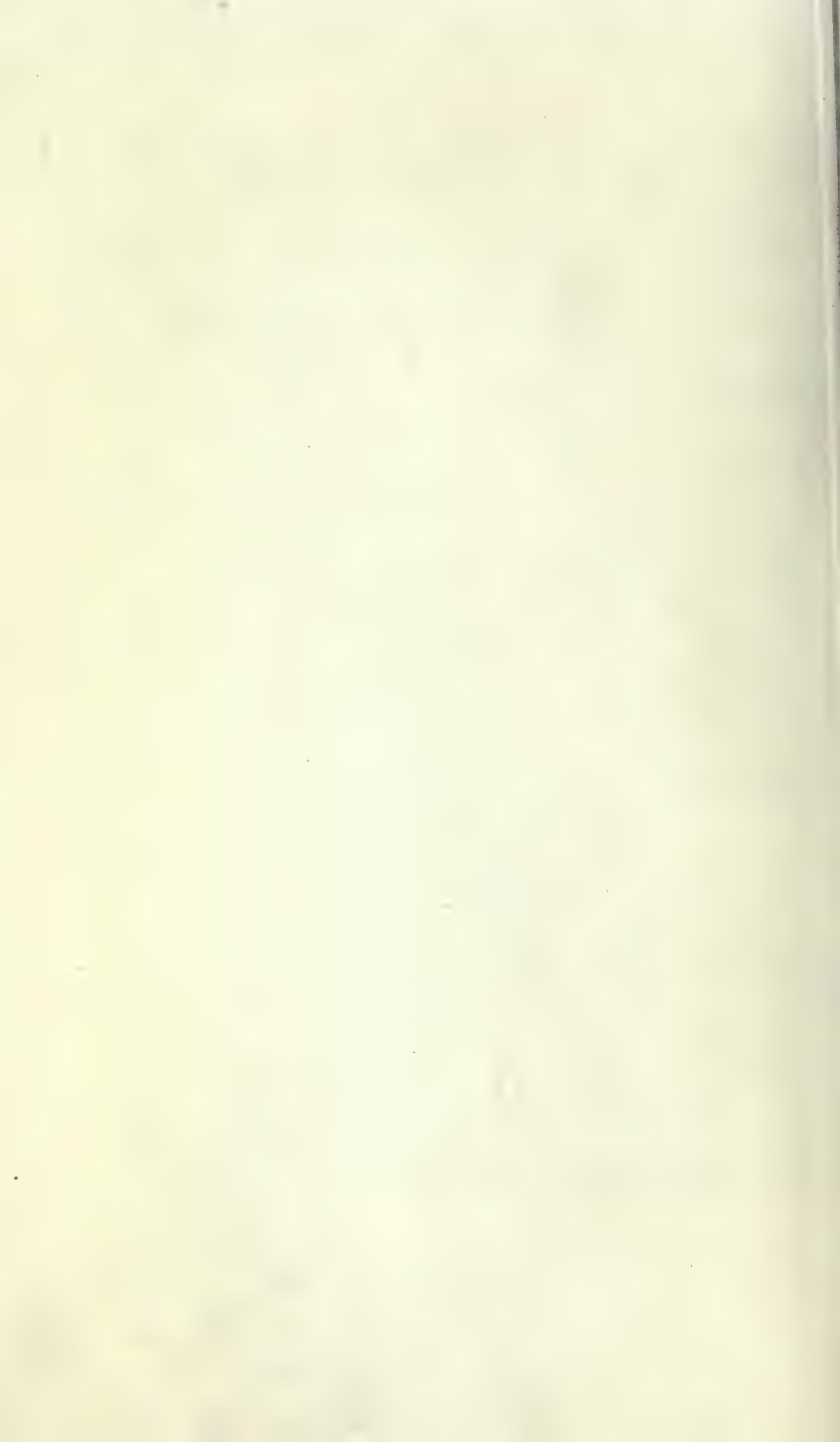
level plain, and toil and exposure the highest enjoyment. With a spirit that knew no disappointment and saw no difficulty, and a body well seasoned by these twelve years of labour, he carefully examined the field that was to be his political arena."

Never was an instance in which a public man was more definitely prepared for his task. He had passed through his period of pupilage with credit. He had crossed the ocean—a much rarer thing in those days than now—he had spent three years in Britain. He had a pleasant home and a lucrative practice. Had he desired to escape the arduous toil of the country practitioner, he knew that Halifax, St. John, or any other city was an open field in which he need entertain no fear of the results of fair competition. But his decision to remain where he had begun, and his twelve years of a country doctor's life, had important bearings on his future career. Nor must it be for a moment supposed that the duties of his practice made any less demand on professional ability than those of the city physician. On the contrary, they made drafts on his personal effectiveness, his confidence in himself, and his readiness of resource, such as are unknown to urban practice. But the most important consideration with regard to those years of professional duty, was the fact that



HOUSE AT AMHERST, N.S., IN WHICH SIR CHARLES TUPPER LIVED AFTER HIS MARRIAGE

Carl W. Pridham photo



Biographical Sketch

they brought him into close touch with the men who were to be his future political supporters and opponents. He came to know them in a way that would otherwise have been impossible. He knew their style of living, their prejudices and predilections. When he entered the political arena he was therefore, so to speak, armed cap-à-pie. Moreover, he attracted the respect of that class of electors which prefers the man who has distinguished himself in some calling or occupation, to one who is merely a glib-tongued demagogue, and has never earned his living by anything in particular. Dr. Tupper was soon to show that he could talk, and talk to good purpose. But behind his eloquent periods there was the memory of his previous years of good work; his victories over disease and accident in many a home; his professional courage that had never wavered in a case of difficulty, and his comprehensive knowledge of the human nature of Nova Scotia. Under these circumstances his first political speeches inspired a respect and confidence such as have rarely been given to the beginner in political life.

An opportunity occurred in March, 1852, which was to prove itself a memorable occasion in Dr. Tupper's career, and the starting-point of his historic years of statesmanship. There was a contest for the representation of the county

Sir Charles Tupper

of Cumberland in the Nova Scotia Legislature. The Conservative candidates were Messrs A. Macfarlane and Thos. Andrew de Wolfe. The Liberal candidates were none other than the redoubtable Joseph Howe and Mr. Fulton. The mere fact that Joseph Howe, the most popular politician of his day, was to be faced by opposition and appear on the hustings, electrified the county of Cumberland. Charles Tupper, the promising student of 1840, had now become the well-known young doctor, thirty-one years of age—a marked man of his neighbourhood.

There are districts in Canada even now, when at election times candidates and supporters have to face primitive conditions of transport. But what is now the exception was then the rule. It speaks well for the vivid interest taken in political matters by the Cumberland men that on nomination day, at River Philip, three thousand men were gathered round the hustings. The farmers had driven in from long distances, so that miscellaneous vehicles and horses overflowed all accommodation. Dr. Tupper had driven twenty miles the day before so as to be on the spot and speak words of encouragement to Mr. de Wolfe. On the evening of this candidate's arrival, a meeting was held in the school-house at River Philip, and there in introducing Mr. de Wolfe, Dr. Tupper made his first political

Biographical Sketch

speech. Then, at a meeting of the Conservative leaders, the question came up, Who should propose de Wolfe at the nomination a few days later? The choice fell on the eloquent young doctor, and he discharged the duty with a dominating force, that left an enduring impression on all present. With a courage that never failed him, he crossed swords with Joseph Howe, whom he drove from power a few years later. For a crucial test of his ability came in 1855, when Dr. Tupper, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, accepted the party nomination. Tupper was Howe's junior by twenty-one years. He is described at this period as possessing "a bell-toned voice, fearless self-reliance, a dogmatic manner, and a capacity for uttering trenchant criticisms that begat in all who heard him a fighting mood, either for or against the speaker."¹ The campaign proved an unusually exciting one, as Howe, his opponent, enjoyed the prestige of being a great orator. It was a battle royal, and the province awakened to the fact that the Liberal leader had met a worthy foeman who asked and gave no quarter.

The result was a sweeping victory for the Liberals, redeemed only by Dr. Tupper's defeat of Howe. On returning to Halifax, Howe told his friends that he had been vanquished by the

¹ *Vide* Saunders' "Three Premiers of Nova Scotia."

Sir Charles Tupper

future leader of the Conservative party, and at a later date Howe unsuccessfully sought an alliance with Dr. Tupper.

At the first caucus after the election, Hon. W. J. Johnstone, the Opposition leader, whose long career had been no less brilliant than that of Howe, expressed a desire to retain only nominal leadership, leaving the actual leadership to his young colleague. Before this arrangement became effective Dr. Tupper, with the assurance of a veteran statesman, declared that his party must reverse its hostile attitude towards the Roman Catholics; that the true policy was equal rights to all, without regard to race or creed; and that all hostility to the railway policy of the Government must be abandoned. His counsel proved sound, for a month after the opening of the House the Opposition had increased its voting strength from fifteen to twenty-two, as compared with twenty-eight for the Government. The Conservatives attained power two years later, meeting defeat, however, by a small margin in 1859.

Four years later the Conservatives swept the province, and again Dr. Tupper refused to lead, deferring to his old chieftain, Johnstone, whose connection with politics dated back to 1838. Mr. Johnstone resigned from the Government in the following year to accept the position of

Biographical Sketch

Judge in Equity, and Dr. Tupper succeeded him as Premier. Many changes in the policy of his party had been made during the preceding nine years. Howe re-entered the Assembly in the late 'fifties, and by advocating the proscription of Roman Catholics aroused bitter sectarian strife throughout the province. Dr. Tupper, on the other hand, by his tolerant views, won hosts of new supporters. Howe justified himself on the ground that his mission to New York to raise recruits for the British army in the Crimea, from among expatriated Britishers, had been rendered unsuccessful by the hostile opposition of Irish Americans. On one occasion troops were called out at Halifax to suppress religious riots. The end of the affair was that Mr. Cranston, the British minister at Washington, was dismissed because of his real or supposed connection with Howe's alleged breach of international law.

Previous to 1864 the confederation of the British North American provinces had been discussed in legislative assemblies, in lectures and newspapers, only, however, in a theoretic and academic manner. As far back as 1838 it was the subject of a conference between representatives of the various provinces and Lord Durham, Governor-General, at Quebec.

In 1860, Dr. Tupper, then in opposition, was

Sir Charles Tupper

invited to open the Mechanics' Institute at St. John, N.B. This he did by a lecture on "The Political Condition of British North America," which he repeated at various other points during the next three years. His utterances, as published in the *St. John Morning Chronicle* of November 10th, 1860, in the light of later events were indeed prophetic. After reviewing the condition of the scattered provinces, he is quoted as having said :—

"Who could doubt that under these circumstances, with such a federation of the five provinces (to which ultimately the Red River and the Saskatchewan country might be added) as would give us the position due to our extent, resources and intelligent population, untrammelled either by slavery or the ascendancy of any dominant Church; almost the last country where civil and religious liberty exists, British America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would in a few years present to the world a great and powerful organization; with British institutions, sympathies and feelings; bound indissolubly to the throne of England by a community of interests, and united to it by the viceroyalty of one of the promising sons of our beloved Queen, whose virtues have enthroned her in the hearts of her subjects in every section of an Empire upon which the sun never sets."

Biographical Sketch

In the Session of 1861, Premier Howe, who as an astute politician was keenly alive to the activities of his young rival, submitted a resolution to the Nova Scotia Legislature in favour of Confederation. The resolution was seconded by Dr. Tupper and was unanimously adopted. This was not the first time that Howe had advocated political union of the Canadian provinces, and his subsequent change of front was all the more unexpected, except to those who discerned the motives that prompted his subsequent erratic course.

To Sir Charles Tupper alone belongs the credit of having initiated the movement that came to fruition by the passage of the British North America Act, after a struggle unparalleled for the bitterness of feeling it engendered throughout his native province. The records of the legislature tell in outline the earlier part of the story.

As the following pages are in large measure the story of Sir Charles Tupper's life, it is unnecessary to prolong this biographical sketch. Mention may, however, be made of a typical instance which evidenced the power of quick decision, the tenacity of purpose and the abounding vitality which have distinguished him throughout his extended career.

Mr. Harris L. Adams has given, in the pages

Sir Charles Tupper

of the "Farmers' Magazine," a graphic description of the way in which these qualities were displayed when Sir Charles was High Commissioner for Canada in London. At that time Canadian cattle were freely admitted to Great Britain, and it appears that a consignment of them was condemned at the landing-wharves in Liverpool on the ground that some of the animals were affected with pleuro-pneumonia. The agent in Liverpool to whom the condemned cattle had been consigned, reported by cable to the shipper in Canada that the whole of the shipment would have to be slaughtered, because some of the steers were tainted with the dreaded disease. The shipper at once cabled to Sir Charles Tupper for advice.

Sir Charles was busy in his office shortly after the opening hours on the Thursday on which the cablegram was received. It was handed to him by his secretary, Mr. Colmer. The usual course in such a case would have involved a certain amount of red tape and circumlocution. But Sir Charles disregarded precedents and procedure. He inquired from his secretary as to where were the nearest surgical instrument shops, and the nearest bookseller's who supplied medical books. He told him to reserve him a compartment on the first train to Liverpool. At the bookseller's Sir Charles got the latest works on

Biographical Sketch

the diseases of cattle, put them in his hansom cab, and was driven rapidly to the surgical instrument maker's. He emerged with a big case of instruments, and when he reached Euston station dashed along the platform with the books under one arm and the surgical instruments under the other. Colmer was in readiness for him, handed him his ticket, and saw him safe into his compartment. On the way down Sir Charles, so to speak, tore the heart out of the books so far as they related to the disease in question. By the time he reached Liverpool he was well up in the knowledge of pleuro-pneumonia.

Arrived there he drove immediately to the cattle yards and asked to see the condemned cattle that had recently arrived from Canada. Then he called for the inspectors who had condemned them. Sir Charles put each of them through a sharp examination. He made each one define his reasons for his action. Going again to the yards the inspectors were requested to point out an animal which they considered was affected. Each was asked to state what would be found, on dissection, to be the condition of the lungs and other organs of the body. Each man was pinned down to exact details. Then Sir Charles ordered that the condemned animal should be slaughtered. He then rolled

Sir Charles Tupper

up his sleeves and dissected the various parts—doing this with a thoroughness that left no opening for uncertainty. Another and yet another animal were brought in and subjected to the same operations. No symptom whatever of disease was found, and by the evening he had proved that the inspectors had been quite erroneous in their conjectures. Sir Charles left the cattle yard in triumph, and had the pleasure of writing to the Canadian shipper that his cattle were all right. “As for the Liverpool inspectors,” says Mr. Adams, “they made no more condemnation of Canadian cattle lest, as they said, ‘that old devil from London should blow down here again.’” Truly this incident shows the Father of Confederation in a vivid light.

Sir Charles entered Canadian politics in 1855. He retired from Parliament in 1900 after forty-five years of continuous service, during which he was a great and commanding figure in the public life not only of Canada, but of the Empire. In the words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, his oldest living political opponent, on the occasion of the unveiling of the tablet in London to “The Fathers of Confederation,” in 1911: “Next to Macdonald the man who did most to bring Canada into Confederation was Sir Charles Tupper.”

On May 1st, 1913, the aged statesman left

Biographical Sketch

Canada to reside in England. He stayed at Amherst on the way to his ship—Amherst his old home, and the scene of so many associations with the past. For a whole week festivity followed festivity, says Mr. John Boyd, writing of the time in the "Canadian Magazine," "and the most pleasing feature of the celebration was that all party differences were forgotten, and that Liberals and Conservatives united to do honour to one who though one of the stoutest fighters and hardest hitters of his time in the political arena was always a generous opponent." On the occasion of this visit to Amherst it was remarked that Sir Charles's voice, always powerful, was still strong and clear. He addressed a great meeting, and every word was heard distinctly even by those at the farthest extremity of the immense hall in which the assembly gathered.

Sir Charles Tupper married in 1846 Miss Frances Morse, a daughter of Mr. Silas Morse, prothonotary of Amherst. His family consists of one daughter and three sons, the latter all being King's Counsel and well known in Canadian legal circles.

III

THE STORY OF CONFEDERATION

“**I**N the winter Session of 1864,” said Sir Charles, “as Premier of Nova Scotia I introduced and carried a resolution in favour of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, explaining that I regarded it as a step in the direction of a wider union in the way of which insuperable difficulties then existed.

“Delegates from the three provinces, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, were appointed to attend a conference to be held at Charlottetown on September 1st of that year. Hon. Joseph Howe was the first man I invited to attend, as I valued the strength of his influence. Mr. Howe, however, wrote declining the invitation on the ground that he was then a Fisheries officer in the employ of the Imperial Government, but wished us success, adding that he would return from a cruise on a warship in October, and would do everything in his power to carry out any policy we adopted at Charlottetown.

The Story of Confederation

“After the action of the Nova Scotia Legislature, and before the Charlottetown conference—wearied with prolonged conflict—Upper and Lower Canada made a desperate effort to relieve themselves from a tangle of difficulties that hindered all progress. The Government, being out-voted, made overtures to Hon. George Brown, leader of the Opposition, and a coalition Government was formed with the avowed object of bringing about Confederation. Later the governors of the Maritime Provinces received a despatch from the Governor-General inquiring whether the Charlottetown convention would receive a deputation from the Canadian Government, which wished to express its views on the wider union.

“Favourable replies were sent, and we received the delegates with open arms. There was free and frank discussion of the subject, and after a ten days’ conference an adjournment to meet in Quebec on October 10th, to adopt a basis of union, was agreed to. The Canadian delegates received a hearty welcome in every city and town they visited and were handsomely entertained. The list comprised: Hon. John A. Macdonald, Hon. George Brown, Hon. Alexander T. Galt, Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. Hector L. Langevin, Hon. Wm. Macdougall, and Hon. Thos. D’Arcy McGee.

Sir Charles Tupper

“ Before returning to Quebec the delegates went by steamer to Halifax, where I presided at a complimentary banquet at which Hon. Joseph Howe, then out of public life, as I have stated, in an eloquent speech, wished all success to the Confederation movement. There was also a note of united sentiment and united purpose in the deliverances of the visiting delegates, including those of Hon. John A. Macdonald, Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. George Brown, and Hon. D’Arcy McGee.

Historic Quebec Conference

“ The Quebec conference, which was also attended by delegates from Newfoundland, assembled on October 10th and concluded its deliberations on October 27th. It met under the sanction of the Crown. The mayor, who was not any too friendly to Confederation, presided at a banquet at which I made the principal speech in reply on behalf of the delegation from the Lower Provinces. There was wonderful accord among the various representatives in regard to general principles involved in drafting a basis of union. We agreed that representation should be by population, and that the province of Quebec, as most unlikely to change, should be the pivot, receiving sixty-five members for ever; and that the other

The Story of Confederation

provinces should have representation based on that figure in order to prevent the House of Commons becoming too large and unwieldy.

“Hon. John A. Macdonald was originally in favour of a legislative union of the whole, as a matter of theory, but when we took up the subject he was in accord with the others that the only practical solution was by the adoption of a federal scheme. There was considerable discussion as to whether the Dominion Senate should be elective or nominative. The only individual among the thirty-three who raised objections to it being nominative was Hon. Oliver Mowat, a member of the coalition Government, who, however, did not challenge a vote. That was all the more surprising, as Canada, at that period, had an elective Senate.

“On my motion it was agreed that the first federal senate should be composed of the members of existing legislative councils of all the provinces; the various governments to select them in equal portions from both parties as far as practicable. The building of an intercolonial railway was also included in the resolutions adopted at Quebec.

“My fellow-delegates from Nova Scotia were Hon. W. A. Henry, Hon. R. B. Dickey, Hon. Jonathan McCully and Hon. A. G. Archibald. A number of us toured Ontario and Quebec

Sir Charles Tupper

before returning home and received a very hearty reception. The members of the Quebec conference agreed that the basis of union should first be endorsed by the various provincial legislatures before the Imperial Government was asked to pass the necessary legislation to give effect to the union.

“ Certain happenings in the following year in the Lower Provinces indeed made the outlook for Confederation anything but favourable. Premier Tilley, in New Brunswick, appealed to the country, giving way to an anti-Confederate Government. The same thing happened in Prince Edward Island. Under these circumstances I had no alternative than to adopt a waiting policy, feeling confident that public opinion, alarmed by the unfounded representations of our opponents, would sooner or later undergo a change. My surmise proved correct.

Howe's Right-about Face

“ A large number of my own supporters, including prominent Halifax bankers and business men, opposed the union movement, and Hon. Joseph Howe was tempted to accept the leadership of the opposing party, completely repudiating the views he had formerly expressed. The agitation soon assumed large proportions, and the issue sharply divided the population. It was aggravated by the hostility displayed

The Story of Confederation

towards free schools. In 1864, owing to the backward state of education in the province, I passed a Bill providing for a double grant to every school district voluntarily accepting taxation for the support of free schools. This inducement proved a failure, and in the following year I succeeded in enacting a more sweeping measure, providing for free schools, supported by compulsory taxation. As the Conservatives were the larger property holders they offered strong opposition; the Liberals, generally speaking, being favourable to free schools.

“ Seeing New Brunswick fast coming into line, I introduced a resolution in the Legislature in April, 1866, in favour of sending delegates to a conference with the other provinces in London to finally negotiate the terms of union. The resolution passed both Houses by a large majority. Subsequently the Confederation party, led by Hon. Mr. Tilley, swept New Brunswick, whose Legislature met and adopted a similar resolution. The united parliament of Upper and Lower Canada had made a similar pronouncement in the previous year. All this cleared the way for the London conference; Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland abstaining.

“ On December 4th, 1866, the following delegates assembled in conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London :—

Sir Charles Tupper

“ *Canada*.—Hon. John A. Macdonald, Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. A. T. Galt, Hon. Wm. Macdougall, Hon. W. P. Howland, and Hon. H. L. Langevin.

“ *Nova Scotia*.—Hon. Charles Tupper, Hon. W. A. Henry, Hon. J. W. Ritchie, Hon. J. McCully, Hon. A. G. Archibald.

“ *New Brunswick*.—Hon. S. L. Tilley, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. R. D. Wilmot, Hon. J. M. Johnson, Hon. Chas. Fisher.

Conference in London

“ I proposed that Hon. J. A. Macdonald should be chairman of the conference, which was seconded by Hon. S. L. Tilley, and carried unanimously. The conference then entered upon the consideration of the Quebec resolutions. On December 25th the chairman wrote informing Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State, that the delegates, who had sat steadily for twenty days, had arrived at a satisfactory conclusion, and had adopted, by a unanimous vote, a series of resolutions which would be sent to the Colonial Office the next day.

“ Draft Bills were submitted, and finally, with minor amendments, the British North America Act, uniting the five provinces, was passed by the Imperial Parliament, March 9th, 1867. At my request—by cable—the Legisla-

The Story of Confederation

ture of Nova Scotia was called to meet later in the same month. I crossed the Atlantic and submitted a copy of the Confederation Act. It was approved by a large majority of both Houses. The Act went into effect on July 1st of the same year, Sir John A. Macdonald, who meantime had been created a K.C.B., being called upon by Lord Monck—the first Governor-General—to form the first Government, which was composed of leading men of both parties in the several provinces.

“The calling of the London conference had been the signal for the anti-Confederates in Nova Scotia to send a delegation, headed by Hon. Joseph Howe, to England, to oppose the proposed union. They bore petitions from eight Nova Scotia counties, and one signed by five members of the Legislative Council, and eighteen members of the House of Assembly. This transferred the battleground from Halifax to London.”

Tupper's Reply to Howe

Howe wrote a pamphlet and distributed copies broadcast among the members of the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the British public. He demanded that the matter of union be deferred until it had been submitted to his fellow-countrymen at the polls. He took the

Sir Charles Tupper

ground that the proposition would be against the best interests of the Maritime Provinces and the British Empire; and as a substitute he proposed a federation of the Empire with colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. His pamphlet evoked a stirring rejoinder from Dr. Tupper, addressed to Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The line of attack adopted by Dr. Tupper is best indicated by one of his opening paragraphs:—

“Mr. Howe has rested his arguments upon his own unsupported statements. In the observations I have to make on these statements I shall take the liberty of quoting, among other authorities, one which that gentleman ought to respect, for it is his own. I shall produce from Mr. Howe’s previous public speeches and writings, the most elaborate refutation of all the reasoning by which he now endeavours to obstruct the union of the British North American colonies.”

“Following the issue of Howe’s pamphlet, the ‘Star,’ the organ of Mr. John Bright, which had hitherto been friendly to Confederation, wheeled around, and, in a leader, declared that a mistake had been made,” continued Sir Charles Tupper, in recalling the dramatic incidents of those bygone days.

“Lord Carnarvon, in a state of consternation,

The Story of Confederation

sent for me and informed me that he had been called on that very day by twelve leading public men, who announced their intention, after reading the objections raised by Howe, of opposing the union.

“ I replied that I would answer Howe, and I at once wrote to the editor of the ‘Star,’ asking for an interview. I received a favourable reply from Mr. Justin McCarthy, the editor. I then called on him, also meeting his editorial colleague, Mr. Chesson. I stated my mission and submitted my reply to Howe, with a request that it be published. I also expressed the hope that if Howe failed to reply, the ‘Star’ would acknowledge its mistake. The ‘Star’ printed my reply, Howe failed to answer it, and the ‘Star’ came back into line and supported Confederation.

Howe finally Silenced

“ I then issued a pamphlet in reply to Howe’s, sending copies to the members of both Houses and to the Press. Howe continued his silence, and the British North America Act met with feeble opposition, receiving the support of members of both political parties. Lord Carnarvon and I had become great friends on the occasion of my first official visit to England in 1858. He was at that time Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, his chief being Sir Bulwer

Sir Charles Tupper

Lytton, and Disraeli being Chancellor of the Exchequer. With regard to the more prominent of those who took part in Confederation, and their general characteristics, it may be said that Sir John A. Macdonald had an extremely attractive personality, and was unequalled as a tactician. Without being an eloquent speaker he was very effective on the floor of the House. His popularity throughout Ontario was very great. His great colleague, Sir George E. Cartier, was a man of great industry and indomitable courage, and was easily the most influential man in the Province of Quebec. As Sir John said of him : ' He is as bold as a lion,' and he exercised a wonderful influence and control over his French-Canadian supporters. He was also a very agreeable personage in every way.

" Hon. George Brown was a writer of great ability, his oratorical gifts not being very great. As editor of the 'Toronto Globe' he wielded a vigorous pen. His newspaper was a great power in Ontario. He was defeated at the first General Election after Confederation, and never obtained a seat until awarded a senatorship by the Mackenzie Government. As a member of the coalition Government he took a prominent part in shaping the events that led to the Quebec conference and the union. He afterwards became a bitter opponent of Sir John A. Macdonald,

The Story of Confederation

against whom he had previously carried on a vigorous warfare.

“ Sir Leonard Tilley was a man of high personal character and a very effective speaker. He became Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick when the Conservative party fell in 1873. Five years later, in 1878, he entered Sir John’s administration, and as Minister of Finance carried into effect the protective policy of the party.

“ Hon. Peter Mitchell had many strong traits. He was an active member of the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, when Confederation was carried, exercising much influence on that occasion.

“ Hon. D’Arcy McGee greatly aided the same cause by the many eloquent speeches he delivered throughout the various provinces. He was easily the greatest orator of his day, and a lovable man, for whom I entertained a very high regard.

Forming first Federal Government

“ In June, 1867, Sir John A. Macdonald communicated with me, asking me to come to Quebec and bring Mr. Archibald to assist in the formation of the first Federal Government. Hon. George Brown had previously quarrelled with Sir John and left the coalition Government, his two Liberal colleagues, Howland and Mac-

Sir Charles Tupper

dougall, remaining. Unfortunately Hon. Mr. Cartier was deeply offended at this juncture, because Sir John had just been honoured with a K.C.B., while the lesser honour of C.B. had been bestowed on him, Galt, Tilley, and myself; so when we met to organize the first administration, Cartier declared he could not carry the province unless he were given two French-Canadian colleagues.

“Galt also had a grievance over the superior Confederation honours conferred on Sir John. He could not be overlooked, as he represented the Protestant element in Quebec, and Hon. Mr. McGee likewise had claims as the only representative of the Irish Catholics. This meant five Cabinet ministers from Quebec. Howland and Macdonald took the ground, and rightly, too, that they could not carry Ontario unless that province, owing to its larger population, secured a larger Cabinet representation than the sister province.

“Sir John, with all his resourcefulness, could find no satisfactory solution of the difficulty, and after a deadlock, lasting almost a week, decided to abandon the task and ask the Governor-General to send for Hon. George Brown to form a government. Realizing that a combination of Sir John and Cartier was essential to the organization of a strong government

The Story of Confederation

and that otherwise Confederation would be endangered, I went to McGee and said :—

“ ‘ The union of the provinces is going to end in a fiasco unless we give way. We are the only two men who can avert that calamity.’ I then proposed that he should stand aside in favour of Sir Edward Kenny of Halifax, as the representative of the Irish Catholics, and that I should likewise surrender my claims for a portfolio.

“ McGee readily agreed to my proposition. I then called on Sir John, who repeated that he had given up the task and that he had invited the others to meet him at the council chamber on the following Monday morning to announce his failure, and that he would request Lord Monck to summon Hon. George Brown. I then told him I had a solution and at once briefly explained it.

Tupper's Solution Effective

“ ‘ But what are you going to do, Tupper? Will you take a governorship?’ asked Sir John.

“ ‘ I would not take all the governorships rolled into one. I intend to run for a seat in the Dominion Parliament,’ was my reply.

“ This interview took place on a Saturday night. Macdougall and Howland never thought for a moment that the Government would be

Sir Charles Tupper

formed when they put in an appearance at the council chamber on Monday morning at eleven o'clock. They were holding out for a larger representation for Ontario than they would concede to Quebec. They had their coats on their arms and were about to catch a train to journey to Toronto to attend a public meeting called for the following evening by Hon. George Brown to oppose any Government formed by Sir John Macdonald.

“ ‘Tupper has found a solution,’ said Sir John to the assembled public men, as he glanced at me. He explained it, everybody was satisfied, and in less than fifteen minutes his Cabinet was formed. Cartier got portfolios for Chapais and Langevin, his two French-Canadian supporters, and Galt was taken in, making four members from Quebec and five from Ontario. Kenny and Archibald, both old Liberals, were sworn in as the representatives of Nova Scotia, and Hon. Peter Mitchell, also a Liberal, was one of the new Cabinet ministers from New Brunswick. I went back to Nova Scotia single-handed, and in the General Elections in the following September was the only Conservative returned from that province.”

The campaign was an extremely bitter one, Howe using his powerful influence to fan the flames of discontent and passion. He made

The Story of Confederation

much capital out of the failure of Dr. Tupper to submit the issue to a vote of the people, claiming that they had been dragooned into union, and he ascribed a large share of the responsibility to the Imperial Government. These arguments from the man who had, at an earlier date, fought the battle for constitutional government in Nova Scotia, made a deep impression upon great masses of the people to whom the people of the Upper Provinces were utter strangers.

Howe's Public Threat

In a public speech Howe made this threat :—

“ The sooner it is known the better, that the people of Nova Scotia are determined to defeat this idea of erecting a new Dominion in British America. They are determined that not a pound of their capital shall go to paying the debts of Canada ; that not an acre of their province shall go under Canadian rule, and that not a man of their militia shall be liable to be marched up to the backwoods of Canada to fight the battles of faction, or to prevent Canada from burning down Parliament buildings or pelting governors through the streets.”

Howe and Tupper met in a famous public debate at Truro, the event attracting a vast audience. Howe had previously refused to meet Tupper in Halifax. At Truro the younger man

Sir Charles Tupper

proved more than a match for his veteran opponent, according to the chronicles of that time. Howe appealed to passion, distorted the issue, and touched a sore point when he asserted that Nova Scotia would be tax-ridden to support the Upper Provinces.

Obliged to admit that he had not been given a seat in the Dominion Cabinet, but refraining from an explanation of the true cause, Dr. Tupper, with that great courage that sustained him in a hundred fights, delivered a crushing reply. He reviewed the public career of Howe, quoting numerous speeches in favour of Confederation, including one made at a public dinner at Halifax in honour of the union delegation from the Upper Provinces.

“ I have given you the authority of the leading men of this country, of the colonial ministry, of the British ministry, and in addition you have the authority of the House of Peers and Commons of Great Britain,” said Dr. Tupper, on another occasion when discussing the constitutional phase of the question and justifying the course adopted in bringing about the union.

“ Let detraction assail that Parliament as it may, but there is not a freeman through the length and breadth of the British Empire who can fail to admire and respect that body, which among the convulsions which have shaken nations

The Story of Confederation

from the centre to the circumference, has maintained the proud pre-eminence of England. It does not become a public man, at a time when the Parliament of Great Britain is attracting the attention of the civilized world, when it is the great object of other nations to assimilate their institutions as nearly as possible to those of our Mother Country, to attempt to cast obloquy upon it.

Queen Victoria's Tribute

“The statesmen of Great Britain, without regard to party—whether Liberal or Conservative, Whig or Tory—united in one common acclaim, that the colonies would not only be rendered more prosperous, but that the ties that now bind them to the Empire would be strengthened.

“From the lips of our Royal Sovereign I have heard the warmest approval of union. The province I represented had the great honour and distinction of my receiving Her Majesty's command to wait upon her at Buckingham Palace, and upon that occasion Her Majesty congratulated me upon the success which had attended our efforts, and when I expressed the gratification with which her loyal subjects would learn the deep interest she had evinced in this measure, she replied: ‘I take the deepest interest in it,

Sir Charles Tupper

for I believe it will make them great and prosperous.’ ”

Early in 1868 Mr. Howe and a number of other delegates, bearing enormous petitions asking for the release of Nova Scotia from the union, were despatched to England. The Imperial Government refused the appeal, and the House of Commons, by a vote of 181 to 87, refused to appoint a Royal Commission.

“ Sir John Macdonald asked me to go to London to oppose this move,” continued Sir Charles. “ He said : ‘ Tupper, have you an objection to Galt going too ? ’ ‘ Certainly not,’ I replied. Galt, however, refused to go, alleging that I was on such bad terms with Howe that the mission was bound to be a failure. I then informed Sir John that I should prefer to go alone.

Tupper meets Howe in London

“ On reaching London the first man I called on was Mr. Howe. He was not in, but I left my card. Howe returned the call, and on greeting me, said : ‘ Well, I can’t say that I am glad to see you, but we have to make the best of it.’ I replied that the situation was indeed grave enough, but that it was better to have a frank understanding. I said to him :—

“ ‘ I will not insult you by suggesting that

The Story of Confederation

you should fail to undertake the mission that brought you here. When you find out, however, that the Government and the Imperial Parliament are overwhelmingly against you, it is important for you to consider the next step.'

"Howe replied: 'I have 800 men in each county in Nova Scotia who will take an oath that they will never pay a cent of taxation to the Dominion, and I defy the Government to enforce Confederation.'

"'You have no power of taxation, Howe,' I replied, 'and in a few years you will have every sensible man cursing you, as there will be no money for schools, roads or bridges. I will not ask that troops be sent to Nova Scotia, but I shall recommend, if the people refuse to obey the law, that the Federal subsidy be withheld.'

"I also reminded him that all the judges, bishops and clergy, and the best element in the province heartily supported the union.

"I then showed him a copy of my letter to Sir John declining the chairmanship of the Intercolonial Railway Board, and told him that I would not accept a portfolio or any office until I had a majority from Nova Scotia at my back. At the time of which I speak, Archibald, one of the Cabinet ministers from Nova Scotia,

Sir Charles Tupper

had just been defeated, and his colleague, Kenny, was in the Senate.

“ ‘Howe,’ I continued, ‘you have a majority at your back, and if you will enter the Cabinet and assist in carrying out the work of Confederation you will control all the provincial patronage, and you will find me as strong a supporter as I have been an opponent.’

“ I saw at once that Howe was completely staggered, and two hours of free and frank discussion followed. I told him that between us we could rally to his support three-quarters of the wealth, education, and influence of the province. That very night I wrote Sir John that I had no doubt Howe would become a member of his Cabinet.

Interview with Bright

“ At the House of Commons a few days later Hon. John Bright asked for an introduction to me, and then stated that he had accepted Howe’s invitation to move a resolution in favour of a commission of inquiry. He asked for my side of the story, so next day I visited him at his chambers. His newspaper, the ‘Star,’ was then supporting Howe’s demand for a Royal Commission. I frankly told Bright that he was not a constitutionalist in the course he proposed to follow, and informed him that the union had

The Story of Confederation

been approved by a large majority of both Houses of the Nova Scotia Legislature.

“ ‘ I don't mean to insinuate that these majorities were obtained by crooked work, but I know that improper means are sometimes used over here,’ Bright observed. I then warned him that the disruption of Confederation meant absorption of the various provinces by the United States.

“ ‘ Well,’ he replied, after a pause, ‘ I can't help thinking that it would be a grand thing to see one Government rule from the equator to the north pole.’

“ ‘ If those are your views, Mr. Bright,’ I replied, ‘ I should think you could quite understand why a public man from a small province would prefer to see it a member of a Confederation rather than remain isolated, without accusing him of being influenced by corrupt motives.’

“ ‘ You got me there fairly,’ was Bright's comment, with a laugh.

Prediction Fulfilled within the Time

“ Mr. Bright then asked me if there was any danger of a revolt in Nova Scotia. I replied that the worst revolt I expected was to see Howe become a member of Sir John's Cabinet within six months, requesting him to regard the communication as confidential. Four years later,

Sir Charles Tupper

meeting Mr. Bright at dinner in London, he remarked to me: 'I was incredulous over your prediction, but I took a note of it and observed that it was fulfilled within the time. Nobody received the news with greater pleasure than I did.'

"After my talk with Howe I called on the Duke of Buckingham at the Colonial Office, Lord Carnarvon having in the meantime resigned. The Duke invited me to Stowe Park for the Easter holidays, and said that it would afford him pleasure to invite any members of Parliament I might care to meet in order to discuss the impending issue in the House of Commons. I replied that there was only one gentleman I cared to meet, and that was Mr. Howe. The Duke thereupon invited Mr. and Mrs. Howe, and we met at Stowe Park.

"The visit gave me a good opportunity of saying a good word on behalf of Cartier. I told the Duke that Cartier was as strong in Quebec as Sir John was in Ontario, and urged that the French-Canadian leader was entitled to equal consideration at the hands of the Crown. The Duke agreed to see the Queen, and later informed me that Her Majesty was quite willing, but that nothing could be done, as the Crown could not create any new member of the Order of the Bath until a vacancy occurred. I then suggested that

The Story of Confederation

the difficulty be met by recommending Cartier for a baronetcy. The Duke obtained the Queen's consent, and thus the breach at home was healed.

“Mr. Howe became a member of Sir John's administration six months later, accepting the presidency of the Council, and running for Hants county, secured nearly as large a majority as he had little more than a year before as an anti-Confederate. He was afraid of the effect if I entered the constituency and spoke in his behalf, so I addressed a circular letter to the Conservatives, therein giving reasons why they should support Howe, and I had the satisfaction of seeing my political friends go to the polls and make up for the defections of Howe's former supporters.”

Stormy Session of 1870

The Session of 1870 proved a stormy one. Sir A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance, had previously withdrawn from the Government and joined the Opposition. He was succeeded by Sir John Rose, who subsequently resigned, and the portfolio then went to Sir Francis Hincks. Exasperated over the selection of Hincks, Sir Richard Cartwright wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald threatening to withdraw his support if Hincks was sworn in.

Sir Charles Tupper

From this epistle arose the bitterness of feeling which ever afterwards characterized the relations between the Premier and Sir Richard. Years afterwards, in the heat of debate, Sir Charles Tupper referred to the cause which prompted Cartwright's defection from the Conservative party. Sir Richard denied the charge, and Sir Charles retorted that he had seen Cartwright's letter to Sir John.

Early in the season of 1870 the Opposition made a most determined onslaught on the Government, whose fate for a while trembled in the balance. Sir John and his colleagues were harshly criticized for the unrest, if not open rebellion, which existed in Manitoba. Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Sir A. T. Galt, Sir Richard Cartwright, and Hon. William Macdougall formed the principal battery on the Opposition benches. To add to the troubles, considerable dissatisfaction arose among the ranks of the Government supporters. There was open talk of revolt. Hon. Mr. Masson, a strong supporter of Sir John, showed his disaffection and voiced it in a speech, and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell declared that the Government should be turned out if half of what was said about it were true.

A review of the debates of that critical period indicates that Sir Charles Tupper took a leading part in stemming the tide that was setting in

The Story of Confederation

against the Government. His speeches were characterized by wonderful lucidity and clearness of exposition. He gave and received many hard knocks, but the end was that the stampede was stopped and the Government was saved by a good majority.

“Sir John came to me immediately afterwards and insisted that I should enter his Government,” said Sir Charles in reference to the event. “I replied that a large deputation of Liberal members from Nova Scotia had just urged me to do so. Mr. Howe’s health was anything but satisfactory, and he was never heard at his best in the House of Commons. I accepted the Premier’s invitation, and was sworn in as President of the Council, June 21st, 1870.

“In the General Elections of 1872 Howe and I swept Nova Scotia. We were both elected by acclamation, and I had then the proud satisfaction of knowing that my earlier labours had not been in vain, and that the anti-Confederation agitation was dead for all time. Mr. Howe’s health gradually became worse. I knew his ambition was to become Lieutenant-Governor of his native province, and I discussed the matter with Sir John, who stated that any arrangement would be agreeable to him : so Mr. Howe was nominated for that high honour on my recommendation.

Sir Charles Tupper

“ Before leaving Ottawa Mr. Howe gave a farewell champagne luncheon, his parting injunction being : ‘ Boys, I want you to stand by Tupper as he has stood by me.’ Poor Howe returned to Nova Scotia and had only been an occupant of Government House three weeks when he passed away.”

IV

THE TRIP TO FORT GARRY

THE story of Sir Charles Tupper's perilous and adventurous overland trip to Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, in December, 1869, is one that is not very familiar to the present generation. His achievement in penetrating alone into the stronghold of Louis Riel, the half-breed rebel leader, who subsequently fomented a second rebellion in 1885, paying the penalty for high treason on the scaffold at Regina, created a great sensation throughout Canada at the time, and had far-reaching effects in paving the way for a settlement of the troubles and bringing about the peaceful transfer of a vast region inhabited by a small and nomadic population to the sovereignty of the young Dominion, then in its swaddling clothes.

It was a characteristic Tupperian act which no other prominent Canadian public man of that period had the boldness to conceive or the courage to undertake and carry out. There are many

Sir Charles Tupper

references to Dr. Tupper's exploit in the heated debates of the parliamentary Session of 1870, as recorded in the pages of Hansard.

Acquisition of the Territories

During the summer of the preceding year Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. William Macdougall—both Fathers of Confederation—visited England on behalf of the Dominion Government, and successfully negotiated the acquisition of the North-west Territories—comprising the region extending westward to the Rockies—and the extinguishment of the title which had been vested in the Hudson's Bay Company for nearly 250 years. Many difficulties and obstacles had to be overcome. The famous trading corporation showed no great desire to see a veritable empire, where it enjoyed exceptional privileges and where its officers the chief factors exercised very wide authority, pass from its control.

Negotiations were, however, greatly facilitated by the attitude of the Imperial Government, which heartily sympathized with the aspirations of far-seeing and patriotic Canadian statesmen in favour of bringing about a federated Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was realized that the acquisition of the North-west must be a prelude to the admission of British Columbia,

The Trip to Fort Garry

then a Crown colony, into the recently formed Union.

On returning to Canada, Hon. Mr. Macdougall was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the newly acquired territories, and after a stay in Ottawa, left for Fort Garry in company with the members of his advisory council. Mr. Macdougall and his party never reached their destination. The French Canadian half-breeds of the Red River settlement, falsely misled to believe that their rights had not been safeguarded in London, seized Fort Garry and set up a provisional Government. At that time no railway connected the prairies with Eastern Canada, and St. Cloud, the most northerly point on a railway in Minnesota, was separated from Fort Garry by a distance of nearly 400 miles.

The news, flashed from St. Paul a few days later, electrified the people of Eastern Canada. It had deeper significance for Hon. Dr. Tupper, as his daughter, the wife of General Cameron, was a member of the Governor's party. Alarmed for her safety on learning that her personal baggage and effects had been taken from her by the rebels, Dr. Tupper's wife urged him to hurry west to bring their daughter home. No persuasion was needed to influence a man of the doctor's heroic type.

Sir Charles Tupper

Undertakes Dangerous Mission

Subsequently, when ready to leave Ottawa, Sir John A. Macdonald, thoroughly acquainted with his resolute character and absolute fearlessness, asked him to undertake the dangerous mission of visiting Fort Garry for the purpose of interviewing the leaders of the half-breeds. The recovery of Mrs. Cameron's baggage, however, served as a good pretext for visiting the country. Dr. Tupper accepted the invitation without a moment's hesitation.

Aided by diaries recording the happenings day by day, and by a wonderful memory, Sir Charles was able to recall the trip, with its adventures and hardships, as though it had happened but a few years ago. The aged baronet spoke modestly, without a trace of pride in his remarkable exploit and as though he had simply done a plain public duty. Future historians will probably regard it as one of the most patriotic and courageous achievements in a long and brilliant career.

Daughter with Advance Party

“ My only daughter, Emma, was married to Captain D. R. Cameron, now Major-General, C.M.G., of the Royal Artillery, in July, 1869. Later in the same year Hon. William Macdougall, M.P., was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Territories, and Captain Cameron,

The Trip to Fort Garry

who was selected for the purpose by the Imperial Government, was appointed a member of Mr. Macdougall's council. Captain and Mrs. Cameron accompanied Mr. Macdougall and the other members of the Council and party to Pembina, preparatory to taking over the government, the date for the transfer having been fixed for December 1st, 1869," said Sir Charles in recalling his memorable trip to Fort Garry.

"Before Mr. Macdougall and his party reached Pembina, Louis Riel had placed himself at the head of the disaffected French half-breeds, seized Fort Garry, where Mr. McTavish, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, was dying of consumption, and organized a government.

"The Dominion authorities then appointed Grand Vicar Thibeault, a resident of Fort Garry; Col. de Salaberry, of Montreal; and Mr. Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Montreal, commissioners to deal with the insurrection as best they could. At that time there was no means of reaching Fort Garry except via St. Paul, and not a man or a musket could be sent through the United States. Mr. Macdougall's instructions were to go to Fort Garry as a private citizen, until notified that the transfer of the territory to Canada had taken place, when he would assume office as Lieutenant-Governor.

Sir Charles Tupper

Half-breeds threaten Macdougall

“When he reached the Hudson’s Bay post, two miles north of the international boundary at Pembina, he was met by a force of twenty-five armed half-breeds with an order from Riel, forbidding him to remain in the territory on pain of death. He and his party returned to Pembina, with the exception of Captain Cameron. The latter proceeded on his way to Fort Garry, but hearing that there was an armed force on the road, he left Mrs. Cameron and her maid at Scratching River and drove on with his orderly. At St. Norbert, nine miles south of Fort Garry, he met about 300 half-breeds under arms, who took him prisoner and sent him back to Pembina under an armed guard. On his way south he was joined by Mrs. Cameron for the remainder of the journey. The half-breeds had meantime seized their horses, waggon and baggage.

“Pembina at that time was a small village of log and mud houses. The only dwelling Captain Cameron could secure was a log hut three-quarters of a mile from any other habitation. Mrs. Le May, their nearest neighbour, told my daughter that a few months previously a party of Cree Indians came to their house in the afternoon and asked for bread. They returned at sundown and proved their gratitude by saying :

The Trip to Fort Garry

‘ You very good. These Indians will not trouble you any more,’ at the same time one of them opened a shawl and disclosed the bleeding scalps of every man, woman and child of an encampment of Sioux Indians on the Canadian border, which they had just wiped out.

“ The feeling against the Canadians in Pembina was very strong, owing to the fact that Colonel Dennis, acting for Hon. Mr. Macdougall, was endeavouring to incite the Indians to take the warpath against Riel. The maid became alarmed, and went to Fort Garry, where the manservant had been previously sent, to attempt to recover the stolen baggage. One day Mr. Macdougall sent for Captain Cameron, and thus my daughter was left alone. In stalked a strapping Indian, all paint and feathers. She thought the best thing to do was to feed him. She cooked him a feast. When the Indian had finished—and Indians are known to eat enough at one meal to last them a week—he expressed his satisfaction in a series of grunts and took his departure.

Sir Charles leaves for the Scene

“ My wife was much alarmed when she learned the position of our only daughter, and urged me to go and bring her home. I left Halifax, December 3rd, for Ottawa, sailing to New York on the steamer ‘ City of Antwerp.’ At Ottawa, Sir John

Sir Charles Tupper

introduced me to Mr. Donald A. Smith, who was preparing for his trip to Fort Garry. He had been preceded by his colleagues, Grand Vicar Thibeault, and Colonel de Salaberry.

“ ‘ I hope you will be able to get into Fort Garry, as no letter can now reach us from there, and we are ignorant of what is taking place,’ said Sir John A. Macdonald to me in saying good-bye. Mr. Smith, his brother-in-law Mr. Hardisty, and I left Ottawa on December 13th with the thermometer thirty degrees below zero. We reached Chicago the following night at ten o’clock, St. Paul the next day, St. Cloud, the end of the railway, a day later, and Fort Abercrombie, the end of the stage line, on the afternoon of December 19th.

“ We hired a driver, a team of horses and a canvas-covered sled for the 200-mile overland journey to Pembina. Georgetown was reached the next night at six o’clock. The Hudson’s Bay post there was the only place left standing when the Sioux Indians rose in 1862, massacred all the men and carried off all the women and children into captivity. At Georgetown the Hudson’s Bay agent and his wife saved themselves by hoisting the British flag. ‘ That is the Great Pale-face Mother,’ declared the braves as they espied the emblem floating in the breeze.

The Trip to Fort Garry

Encounters Indians

“ Resuming our journey we met a mail courier, who informed us that Hon. Mr. Macdougall and family, with the most of his party, had left Pembina on the way south the Saturday before. At two o’clock in the afternoon of December 21st we met Mr. Macdougall’s outfit. Mr. Richards, his attorney-general, told me that he had not had his clothes off for two months ; he had been living in hourly danger of losing his life. Mr. Smith and I stopped to talk to Mr. Macdougall, and Mr. Hardisty went on to the next point, a mile distant, where we intended to camp for the night.

“ After a little time I said I would proceed, thinking they might wish to have a confidential talk. I had only gone half the distance when, as if by magic, a dozen Indians surrounded me. My predicament was no easy one, as I had left my revolver in the sleigh. They could not speak English or French, their vocabulary being restricted to the words ‘ Red Lake,’ as they pointed in the direction whence they had come. The adventure proved to be a bloodless one. After feeling my racoon coat and jabbering away for a while, they started off in the direction of Georgetown.

“ Our route during the ensuing days led through

Sir Charles Tupper

the valley of the Red River. We usually travelled across the prairie, making the river at noon and night. The course of the stream is so sinuous that we saved time by making short cuts, instead of following it. A fringe of forest trees occupied the flat on both sides of the river, the basin of which was, of course, considerably lower than the surrounding country.

“At night we pitched our camps in these forests. There was about a foot of snow on the ground. We cleared it off with a shovel, spread an india-rubber cloth, placed a mattress next, and covered ourselves with blankets and buffalo robes. We lay in the open air with our feet to a blazing fire, which greatly added to our comfort.

“Our host gave us broiled elk at the last house we visited before reaching Fort Abercrombie. When we offered to buy a hind-quarter the landlord took us to an outhouse where six fine elk, frozen stiff, stood erect in the box stalls. At St. Paul the agent of the Hudson’s Bay Company had outfitted us with a box containing potted chicken, tongue, wine, brandy, whisky, bread, biscuits and cake, etc. We did not touch the stimulants, so vivifying and bracing was the air. We fared well on fried elk, butter, potatoes and tea.

The Trip to Fort Garry

Cutting Milk with an Axe

“ At Fort Abercrombie we obtained a pail of frozen fresh milk and, cutting it with an axe, placed pieces in the tea. When the elk gave out we fell back on fat pork and potatoes. On reaching Pembina the box of supplies was still intact, and Mr. Smith generously presented it to my daughter. It was a long and tiresome journey, especially in the last stages, as the weather was very cold.

“ We arrived at Pembina at 11 o'clock on Christmas eve. Captain Cameron was then occupying the log house vacated by Mr. Macdougall. ‘ What did you come for ? ’ was my daughter’s greeting when I entered. The next day a young woman, a daughter of Mr. Cavalier, the postmaster, was taken ill, and as there was no doctor in the place I was requested to see her. It proved to be an hysterical attack and yielded readily to treatment.

“ Mr. Smith went on to the Hudson’s Bay Company post, two miles north of Pembina. I wished to go on to Fort Garry with him, but he said that would not do, as all at Fort Garry knew the active part I had taken in bringing about Confederation, to which they ascribed all their troubles. I told him in reply that I had promised Sir John A. Macdonald to get into

Sir Charles Tupper

Fort Garry, and that I intended to do so. Mr. Smith said he would get them to allow me to go in to see Mr. McTavish, who was very ill, and would let me know as soon as possible.

“Sunday, December 26th, hearing nothing, I asked Mr. Roulette, the American customs officer, to escort me to Fort Garry. He agreed to do so if successful in getting a pass from Colonel Stutsman, a clever United States official who had been born without any legs, and who acted as one of Riel’s confidential advisers. Stutsman replied that if he had the power he would not dare to give the desired pass, as it would compromise the American Government. When Roulette said he could not go, I told his father, a drunken old fellow who had married a full-blooded Sioux squaw, that if he would let his son, a boy of seventeen, take me to Fort Garry I would pay him whatever he would ask. We struck a bargain then and there.

“I then went to Cavalier’s, ostensibly to give directions for the treatment of his daughter during my absence, but really to see Col. Stutsman, who lived there. He said he was sorry, considering my kindness, that he could not do anything to meet my wishes. I told him I wished him to advise the best course I could take to get to Fort Garry, as I wished to obtain the things that had been taken from Captain Cameron, and it was

The Trip to Fort Garry

necessary for me to see Riel for that purpose. He advised me to call on Father Richot, at St. Norbert, and say he had recommended me to do so.

“Fearing the people at Pembina, who were very hostile to the Canadians, would prevent my going to Fort Garry, I hurried away as quickly as possible, being only able to secure a buffalo robe, a bottle of sherry and a loaf of bread. When we reached the Hudson’s Bay post, the half-breed boy suggested I should try to obtain a toboggan, which would be safer than a sleigh in a snowstorm. ‘Drive in. I can get anything he has,’ was my reply.

“I then knocked at the door, which to my astonishment was opened by my fellow-traveller, Mr. Smith. ‘It is not possible that you could be here for two days without seeing me, knowing as you do my great anxiety to get to Fort Garry just now and return,’ I exclaimed.

“‘It is at the cost of one’s life to go to Fort Garry just now. Riel has seized all the arms and ammunition and whisky. A man was shot to death yesterday, and it is simply courting death to go there at present,’ replied Mr. Smith.

“‘But why did you not tell me this, when you knew of my impatience to hear from you?’ I retorted.

“‘Well, I know you are a very impetuous

Sir Charles Tupper

man, and I was afraid you would do something rash,' explained Mr. Smith.

“ ‘ I called here to ask your factor for the loan of a dog-cariole. Can I have it ? ’ ”

“ Don't go there now ”

“ ‘ Of course, you can have anything you wish, but for God's sake don't go there now, ’ ” was his final word.

“ I told him that I was much obliged, but that I had not come for advice, and that I would take the dog-cariole, to which we later hitched our horse. A dog-cariole is a large canvas shoe on a toboggan in which a man can lie down, and the driver stands on the open part behind him.

“ With the sun an hour high, we started for Scratching River, twelve miles distant. There was about a foot of snow on the ground and we drove on a beaten track. Shortly after sundown the boy pulled up and said : ‘ We must go back. There's going to be a frost. ’

“ ‘ What do you mean ? ’ I asked.

“ ‘ You will soon see, ’ he replied. And I did. Within a few minutes we were enveloped in a frozen fog, so dense that I could scarcely make out the horse's head. The thermometer was then about thirty below zero.

“ ‘ The Red River cannot be more than a mile

The Trip to Fort Garry

from here on our right. We will go there and make a fire,' I declared.

" 'I have no matches and no axe,' was the boy's reply.

" 'We must be more than half-way to Scratching River, and it is as easy to go forward as back. I will walk ahead of the horse and keep the track,' I announced. Then I started on ahead and every now and then got off the trail. Our predicament was certainly anything but a pleasant one. Finally, we lost the trail altogether and groped aimlessly about the prairie.

" Observing that the fog only extended a short distance above the ground, and recalling a lesson taught me by my father in my boyhood, I looked skyward and was overjoyed to locate the polar star. I then knew that Scratching River was due north. We drove slowly until we came to a point where a man's track was visible in the snow. We followed it. It led across the river, and in the distance we finally espied a light. It proved to be from a log cabin occupied by a man who was engaged in getting out timber for cart-wheels.

" We found the owner at home and told him of our plight. He gave us a hearty welcome, and his wife prepared us an excellent supper consisting of fried venison and good bread baked from flour imported from England by the Hud-

Sir Charles Tupper

son's Bay Company. The sugar also bore an English trademark. The cabin did not contain a chair or a table, but the obliging hostess spread a piece of india matting on the floor to serve as a tablecloth. It was the most novel feast I ever attended. After breakfast in the morning we were escorted out to the trail and presently were speeding in the direction of Scratching River.

On to Fort Garry

“At sundown the next day we reached St. Norbert. Driving up to the house I supposed to be Father Richot's, I rapped on the door, which was opened by two young ladies. They proved to be Miss Riel, a sister of the half-breed leader, and a Miss Macdougall. Both were very accomplished. Miss Macdougall's history, I afterwards learned, was an interesting one. Her father was a Scotchman. At the age of ten she was taken from her Sioux mother and educated by the nuns. A moment after my arrival, one of the young women left the room to communicate with the Mother Superior. She returned with the message that Father Richot had gone to Fort Garry, and the direction to provide myself and my guide with supper.

“Later, Miss Riel conveyed to me another message from the Mother Superior to the effect that it was quite possible that Father Richot

The Trip to Fort Garry

might be detained at Fort Garry until the next day. The good Sister, so Miss Riel intimated, was ready to forward at once any letter I might choose to send. I at once asked for pen and paper and wrote a letter to Riel, never intending, however, to send it. So when the messenger presently appeared I said in the most nonchalant way: 'I guess I had better go myself instead of sending a letter,' and suiting the action to the word jumped into the rig with him, after asking the young women to thank the Mother Superior for her kind hospitality.

"We drove down the road along the east bank of the Red River for a distance of nine miles, until we reached the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Then we crossed the frozen surface of the Red River, and ascending the Assiniboine, drove to the postern gate of Fort Garry. My guide struck it three times with his long whip, sung out the password, and the gate, in response, was thrown open. He left me with a guard while he went to announce my arrival. When he returned I was escorted through a number of different rooms to the council chamber. This was no doubt a ruse on the part of the half-breeds to give me a favourable impression of their strength. Every room was filled with half-breeds wearing greatcoats. Their number, so far as I could judge, was between two and

Sir Charles Tupper

three hundred. Every room had its stack of piled arms.

Interview with Riel

“ In the chamber to which I was finally conducted, I found in session Riel’s council, consisting of twelve of the wildest men I ever met. Riel, Lemay, and Father Richot formed three of the party.

“ ‘ I am Dr. Tupper, an independent member of the House of Commons,’ I announced. ‘ I came out here to take my daughter home. Her husband’s horses and carriage and their personal effects have been taken from them. I came here to ask you to restore their property.’

“ ‘ You must have met Captain Cameron’s servant on your way here to-night, as I sent one of my men with him to fetch the man who has the carriage and team,’ replied Riel in a not unfriendly tone.

– “ ‘ I would not know Captain Cameron’s servant if I met him. I have never seen him,’ I replied.

“ ‘ If you go back to St. Norbert with the man who brought you here and stay at his house, I will give you my word that everything belonging to your daughter will be there by four o’clock to-morrow afternoon,’ reassuringly declared Riel. The rebel leader was then in his early manhood. He spoke English quite fluently.

The Trip to Fort Garry

He had received his education at the Jesuit college at Montreal.

“ ‘But,’ I suggested, ‘can’t I see the man who has possession of these things, now that I am here?’

“ ‘No! You had better follow my instructions,’ sharply retorted Riel.

“ So I did not press the request, and avoiding any reference to political matters I withdrew with the guide and started back to St. Norbert. A drive two miles beyond St. Norbert brought us about midnight to the house of the man who had Captain Cameron’s carriage and horses. We rapped him up, and the guide explained my mission. We soon had the horses harnessed, and away we drove back to the house of my guide. He gave me a bed on the floor. It was not until the next morning that I discovered that I had slept on a mattress I had given my daughter at Halifax. I did not mention the matter to my host.

Conference with Father Richot

“ At four o’clock the next afternoon arrived sleds laden with my daughter’s effects, and with them was Father Richot, who offered me the hospitality of the glebe house. ‘Father Richot,’ I said, ‘I hope you don’t suppose I came here to put my neck in a halter for the sake of recover-

Sir Charles Tupper

ing my daughter's personal property. I came to see you.' Then I told him that as we understood each other very imperfectly, we had better get an interpreter to discuss the situation. He acquiesced, and we adjourned to the convent, where we had a session occupying two or three hours. Miss Macdougall acted as interpreter.

"It took some time to get him around to my way of thinking. At the outset I pointed out to him the uselessness of an armed force trying to hold the country.

"'I don't think Canada can take us,' declared the priest in the early stages of our talk. 'We can retire to the prairie, and if the worst comes to the worst the United States will welcome this territory into the Union.'

"'You will find that the power of England can reach here,' I warned him. 'Any filibustering expedition seeking to cross the line will be seized by the American authorities, and the United States, in any event, is in no shape to go to war with any great Power.'

"After further talk I saw that he was beginning to listen to reason. I strongly urged him to use his influence to induce the half-breeds to send a deputation to Ottawa to discuss their grievances with the Government, assuring him that they would be received, and that a settlement, satisfactory to everybody, would be

The Trip to Fort Garry

effected. I also urged him to include himself in the deputation before enjoining him to see that no blood was shed in the meantime.

“One to die,” but Schultz escaped

“ ‘One must die,’ he insisted at first.

“ ‘And who is that?’ I inquired.

“ ‘Dr. Schultz’ (afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba), he replied.

“ Then the priest went on to tell me that Dr. Schultz had paid a half-breed \$100 to shoot him. ‘The hired assassin told me so,’ explained Father Richot. ‘Twice has he come to my window at night to shoot me down, but on both occasions God had so paralysed his arm, that he could not raise the rifle.’ I then assured Father Richot that the matter had better be left to the authorities, and that if Dr. Schultz was subsequently found guilty, the law would mete out proper punishment.

“ At the time of my visit to Fort Garry, Dr. Schultz was a prisoner there. He subsequently effected his escape, and in the depth of winter, after unparalleled hardships, made his way overland to Port Arthur and thence to civilization via Duluth.

Again meets Riel

“ We then adjourned to Father Richot’s house, where I again met Louis Riel. I took

Sir Charles Tupper

good care not to discuss politics with him, but conversed with him on other topics, finding him intelligent and very well informed. I also got the priest to engage a man and teams to take out the personal effects of Captain and Mrs. Cameron. My boy guide, Lemay—one of Riel's councillors—and I, started on ahead for Pembina. Lemay urged haste, as he had been advised by letter that his daughter at Pembina was ill, and needed my medical services. I drove south to the boundary-line with Captain Cameron's horses.

“ The result of my conference at St. Norbert was that the half-breeds, twenty-four hours after my departure, decided to begin negotiations by permitting De Salaberry, one of the Dominion Commissioners, to come in from Pembina to join his colleague, Father Thibeault, who had been virtually a prisoner in his own house at Fort Garry. Soon after my visit to the North-west, the half-breeds sent to Ottawa a deputation of three persons, headed by Richot, to negotiate terms with the Dominion Government.

The Return—Lost in a Blizzard

“ At Pembina I rejoined Captain and Mrs. Cameron, and without any delay we got ready for our long drive to St. Cloud, Minnesota, the

The Trip to Fort Garry

end of the railway line. My guide, Solomon Jeanvienne, engaged for me by Father Richot, proved to be a splendid fellow. He knew the country thoroughly and was a first-class cook. He furnished two teams of ponies and two sleds, on which we loaded the effects of my relatives, as Captain Cameron disposed of his carriage and team at Pembina. We made good time on our way south.

“ On the afternoon of the day before our party reached Georgetown, Minnesota, a terrific blizzard set in. The storm redoubled its fury after we had pitched our tent. The weather was bitterly cold, and we got little warmth from the fire blazing outside.

“ The next morning we were in doubt whether to proceed or not. Jeanvienne urged us to remain, declaring that we might get lost on the prairie, as the storm, which still raged, had obliterated the trail; this was also the counsel of the mail courier, who with his team of five dogs had camped with us all night. The mail courier slept in the open, and when I looked out of the tent in the morning all I could see was a white mound, where the man lay huddled in his buffalo robes.

“ As my daughter was tempted with the prospect of sleeping in a house that night, she insisted on proceeding, despite the fact that the

Sir Charles Tupper

mail courier related that he had been compelled to camp at this very spot for three weeks the year before during a storm of unparalleled violence. This man informed us that he had been obliged to eat one of his dogs after his food supplies were exhausted.

“ We later repented yielding to my daughter’s whim, because the blizzard increased in fury as we proceeded on our way, and we got off the trail several times. It was a great relief when we arrived at Georgetown that night after an experience I should not care to repeat. Later, we learned that five persons had perished during that week while trying to reach the same point.”

Discussed in House of Commons

During the debate on the Address at the opening Session of the House of Commons, Dr. Tupper made a reference to his recent trip to Fort Garry. His observations respecting the future of the North-west Territory showed him to possess the vision of a far-seeing statesman. He is quoted in “ Hansard,” the official report, at that time not a verbatim one, under date of February 18th, 1870, as having spoken as follows :—

“ As respects the North-west difficulty he entertained the most sanguine expectations that it would be speedily arranged most satisfactorily.

The Trip to Fort Garry

This opinion was based on what he had derived from the visit he had been able to pay that country only a few weeks previously. He had the pleasure of passing some days within the territory itself, and some weeks in a section of country characterized by similar natural features and resources ; and he must say that his opinion of the capabilities of the country had been considerably elevated.

“ He had listened with great pain to the remarks that had fallen from the honourable member from Terrebonne (Hon. Mr. Masson). The position that that honourable gentleman had assumed, with respect to that delicate question, was untenable, and calculated to sacrifice the best interests of the Dominion. That territory afforded a field of immigration that could not be found in any other part of British America.

“ At an early date the House would have the satisfaction of knowing that, by the annexation of the North-west, they had not only strengthened the position of the British North American Confederation, but opened up a country to energy and enterprise which would bring incalculable wealth to the Dominion. The remarks of the honourable member for Terrebonne were calculated to paralyse the efforts of the Government to settle the question in a manner most conducive

Sir Charles Tupper

to the public interests. Was he prepared to thwart the progress of negotiations, that were being conducted with a fair prospect of success, by declaring that under no circumstances the use of force would be justifiable? When every effort by conciliation had failed, then the authority of the Crown must be vindicated.

Predicted Peaceable Solution

“ Such observations as the honourable member had made were calculated to engender mischief, while the true spirit of statesmanship was shown in the Address, to which reference had been made, and that was, that the Government would exhaust everything in the power of man in order to obtain a peaceable and satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

“ He was proud to be able to say, after having had an introduction to Riel in council at Fort Garry, and discussed in the frankest manner possible the whole question with some of his principal advisers, that he believed the negotiations now in progress would end in the peaceful acquisition of the territory upon terms alike satisfactory to the insurgents and advantageous to the Dominion. He did not hesitate to admit that his sympathies were largely excited, from looking at the question from the same point of view as the insurgents, and when he found how

The Trip to Fort Garry

grievously they had been misled, and how ill-advised they had been. He had no doubt whatever that when they found that the spirit of the free Canadian Parliament would not permit anything like injustice to govern in any part of the Dominion, they would readily agree to a satisfactory solution of the whole difficulty.”

Bitter Debate—A Memorable Scene

The debate was a bitter one, as there was the utmost freedom of discussion on one of the most important and constructive periods of Canadian history. Hon. Mr. Macdougall then and there cast in his fortunes with the Opposition. He declared that the success of his mission had been deliberately prevented by certain influences in the Government. There was a memorable scene when he accused Hon. Joseph Howe of having “knifed” him on the occasion of Howe’s visit to Fort Garry in the summer of 1869.

Other speakers included Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Hon. Edward Blake, Hon. Joseph Howe, Sir George E. Cartier, Sir Hector Langevin, Hon. L. F. R. Masson, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Cartwright and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Mackenzie Bowell, Sir A. T. Galt and Sir Francis Hincks. The debate was also all the more memorable on account of the declaration of Mr. Cartwright that he would no longer

Sir Charles Tupper

support the Government on account of the selection of Sir Francis Hincks as Minister of Finance.

“Hansard,” of February 17th, 1870, says Mr. Bowell “demanded that the charges against Messrs. Howe and Langevin should be explained, for if guilty of what they were accused, they should be dismissed by their colleagues; if they supported them, they should all be driven from office.”

Government Survives Storm

The Government weathered the storm, and early in the summer an expeditionary force under command of Sir Garnet Wolseley was despatched to the North-west via the Great Lakes and the overland route via Lake of the Woods. Before the troops reached Fort Garry, Riel and the rebels had disappeared. Thus ended the so-called rebellion, and after further negotiations with Ottawa, certain rights and privileges were guaranteed to the half-breeds. The machinery of Government was set in motion, and a few years later the first considerable influx of settlers to Manitoba from the Eastern Provinces was fairly under way.

It was the good fortune of Dr. Tupper, years before his great public services received full recognition at the hands of Her Majesty, Queen

The Trip to Fort Garry

Victoria, to have been identified with the progress and development of Western Canada. He joined the Government in July, 1870, as President of the Council, later taking the portfolio of Inland Revenue. One of his first steps was to obtain the enactment of a Weights and Measures Act, standardizing everything throughout the Dominion. Afterwards, as Minister of Customs, he also drafted a stringent prohibitory liquor law for the North-west. So successfully was it enforced by the Mounted Police, that Lord Dufferin, a former Governor-General, on returning from a western tour, laughingly assured Dr. Tupper that the only beverage the vice-regal party was able to secure at a public banquet was "a brand of pain-killer."

V

BRITISH COLUMBIA

THE motives that impelled Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues at Ottawa to round off Confederation by the addition of British Columbia, after the Northwest Territories had been acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company, were based on national as well as Imperial considerations.

This is made quite clear by Sir Charles Tupper in the following reminiscences. As the right-hand man and chief adviser of the great Premier, his wise counsels in the early seventies were inspired by the same spirit which prompted him in a public address at St. John, New Brunswick, in 1860, to advocate a federal union of British North America.

“ What would have been the fate of British Columbia if it had remained isolated from Eastern Canada by an unexplored ‘ sea of mountains ’ and vast uninhabited prairies ? ” I asked.

To this question Sir Charles replied that it

British Columbia

would have inevitably resulted in the absorption of the Crown colony on the Pacific coast by the United States. Social and economic forces were working in that direction from the date of the discovery of gold in 1856. Thousands of adventurous American citizens flocked to British Columbia, and between the two countries there was a good deal of inter-communication by land and sea. Sir James Douglas, an ex-governor, a prominent figure in the early days of the colony, was opposed to Confederation.

Until his eleventh-hour conversion, ex-Governor Seymour entertained similar views. The appointment of Anthony Musgrave, a pro-union man, in 1869, came at a psychological moment when the Imperial authorities in London were giving ardent support to the cause dearest to the hearts of Canadian statesmen.

The Great Inducement

The offer of the Dominion Government to build a railway from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast was the chief inducement that settled the political destiny of British Columbia. Sir Charles Tupper, in his own luminous way, related the story of the great difficulties encountered, and the obstacles overcome in carrying out that gigantic and epoch-making project. He spoke with characteristic

Sir Charles Tupper

modesty of the leading rôle he played in linking up Canada from ocean to ocean. As Minister of Railways he originated and persuaded his colleagues, and later, Parliament, to approve and adopt the agreement under which the trans-continental railway was subsequently built.

Canada's "Grand Old Man" disclosed an historical fact hitherto unpublished when he stated that his first overtures to undertake the construction of the line were made in London to the Grand Trunk Railway Company. The aged ex-Premier recalled every incident, personage, day and date, without consulting a note.

Back to Early Period

"The Government of Canada, having been successful in acquiring the North-west Territory, felt that the completion of Confederation, both for national and Imperial considerations, involved the addition of British Columbia," said Sir Charles. "Sir John A. Macdonald's views in regard to the wisdom of this step were shared just as strongly by every one of his colleagues. They realized that a federation, to be effective for a young nation, must represent a union extending from sea to sea.

"At that period we were also hopeful of including Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland is still 'out in the cold' after

British Columbia

the lapse of nearly half a century, despite the efforts made by Sir John Macdonald's Government, but I am hopeful ere long that the colony will become part of Canada. Prince Edward Island, after a good deal of hesitancy and uncertainty from the days of the historic conference at Charlottetown in 1866, came into the union in 1873, a year after the parliamentary representatives of British Columbia had taken their seats at Ottawa.

“It would have been impossible to retain British Columbia as a Crown colony if overtures in favour of union had not been made by the Dominion. How could it have been expected to remain British when it had no community of interest with the rest of Canada, from which its people were separated by two ranges of mountains and the vast prairies? Under the existing circumstances it had no means of advancement except by throwing in its lot with the great nation to the south, with which it had constant communication both by land and sea.

“We all felt that we were bound to make the hazard of incurring the large outlay for a trans-continental railway if Confederation from coast to coast was to be made a reality and if the sovereignty of Britain was to be retained. Accordingly, negotiations looking to the admission of British Columbia were started in real earnest

Sir Charles Tupper

about the end of 1869. Although sentiment in Vancouver Island, on the whole, was unfavourable to Confederation, the entire mainland, including Cariboo, then an important factor, was practically a unit in its favour. Old-time elements, represented by Sir James Douglas, ex-Governor Seymour and other prominent men, were in opposition.

What Silenced Opposition

“The most potent of all the arguments for union was the promise it held out of promoting overland communication with Eastern Canada. This it was, according to a statement in the ‘Life of Sir James Douglas,’ that finally silenced the opposition of Seymour. In any event, the death of Seymour in 1869 led to the appointment of an avowed advocate of Confederation—Anthony Musgrave, previously Governor of Newfoundland, and possessing an experience of administration gained in the West Indies. A tour of the colony which the new Governor immediately undertook, confirmed the view that the overwhelming sentiment of the population was in favour of Confederation. In addition came formal instructions from England that the Governor should take such steps, as he properly and constitutionally could, either in conjunction with the Governor-General of Canada or other-

British Columbia

wise, to promote the favourable consideration of the question.

“ When the Legislative Council of the colony met in the Session of 1870, Musgrave had a series of resolutions prepared for its consideration. In a memorable debate, which the records show began on March 9th, 1870, and lasted until the twenty-fifth of the same month, the terms on which British Columbia should become a part of the Dominion were definitely formulated.

“ The delegation sent down to Ottawa to complete the negotiations already under way, consisted of Messrs. Trutch (afterwards Sir Joseph), Dr. J. S. Helmcken and Dr. Carrall. In the terms formulated by British Columbia, there was no provision for responsible government; in fact, a clause which it was attempted to insert by certain members of the council, was defeated by a majority vote of that body. The late Hon. John Robson, the late Mr. H. E. Seelye, and Mr. D. W. Higgins, held a conference and decided that in order to secure parliamentary government it would be necessary for one of their number to proceed to Ottawa and inform the Government there that unless responsible government was assured they would oppose the adoption of the terms altogether, and thus delay Confederation.

“ Mr. Seelye was selected as the delegate. He

Sir Charles Tupper

succeeded in convincing the Dominion Government that his contention that the province was sufficiently advanced to entitle it to representative institutions was correct. When the terms came back they contained a clause to that effect, and upon those lines the provincial government has ever since been administered.

Its Last Session

“The Provincial Legislative Council, which was partly appointive, passed the terms of union with Canada in January, 1871. It was its last Session, giving way in the following year to a provincial legislature. The terms of union were embodied in an enactment which passed the Dominion Parliament, after a four days’ debate, on April 1, 1871. The Confederation Act of 1867 provided all the machinery for admitting Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the Northwest and British Columbia.

“The main provisions upon which the Pacific coast province entered the union ensured in the first place that the Dominion should assume all debts and liabilities of the colony as well as to undertake to build a railway from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast within ten years, and to start actual railway construction within two years after the date of union. The idea of an all-rail route direct to Eastern Canada

British Columbia

from British Columbia did not take shape until about 1880, as it was thought that the needs of the situation could be met by providing steam-boat communication between the head of the Great Lakes and the settled portions of Ontario.

“ At that time there did not exist any road worthy of the name of highway across Southern British Columbia, to the vast and lonely prairies. It is true that the Hudson’s Bay Company had its own trails through the northern and central sections of the province, but only for the purpose of packing in supplies or shipping out the fur catch. Of commerce in the ordinary sense there was none. Ordinary communication between British Columbia and Eastern Canada in those days had to be conducted via San Francisco or the Isthmus of Panama.

“ First among the early explorers that crossed the prairies to the coast was Simon Fraser, who reached the mouth of the Fraser River, named after him, in 1808. The next explorers of note to accomplish the same feat were Dr. Cheadle and Lord Milton, M.P. They made the overland trip in 1862–64. During the ensuing ten years the explorers included such well-known men as Mr. (now Sir) Sandford Fleming, Walter Moberley, Professor Macoun and Dr. Bell of the Dominion geological survey; and Captain Butler, a British Army officer; H. J.

Sir Charles Tupper

Cambie, C. F. Hanington, and T. H. White. Mr. Sandford Fleming, as chief engineer of the proposed transcontinental railway, entered the field seeking for a favourable route as early as 1871. In the following year he made, in company of the late Principal Grant of Queen's University, an overland trip between Fort Garry and the Pacific coast.

Terms Opposed by Liberal Party

“The Confederation terms, especially the clause agreeing to the construction of the railway, were bitterly opposed by the Liberal party. Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, leader of the Opposition, denounced the railway project as an impracticable one, far beyond the ability and resources of the Dominion to successfully carry out. His followers, without exception, declared that it would result in the ruin of the country, and adversely criticized the other features, including the provision for awarding a contract to a public chartered company incorporated by the same Act of Parliament. Sir Hugh Allan and his associates, among whom were a number of Americans, were anxious to enter into a contract to build the line from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast.

“Well, the result was that we went to the country in 1872, in the first General Election

British Columbia

since Confederation, charged by the Opposition with undertaking the impossible. In the sharp and bitter campaign which followed, the Liberals created a good deal of alarm among the electorate, especially in Ontario and Quebec.

“The result was that Sir John A. Macdonald was returned to power by a greatly reduced majority. That he was not defeated was due to the sentiment created in Nova Scotia by bringing Hon. Joseph Howe into the Government in 1869, and myself in 1870. We carried every seat in the province. Mr. Church of Lunenburg being the only independent supporter, Howe and I were elected by acclamation. Those were the days of open voting.

“Sir George E. Cartier, the leader of the French-Canadian Conservatives, went down to defeat. He subsequently was elected for a Manitoba seat, but never sat in the House again. Failing health prompted him to proceed to England to consult a physician, and there he died in 1873. Cartier had a lovable personality, and was a man of great ability and influence in Parliament, where his loss was intensely felt.

“The Pacific ‘Slander’”

“Events moved with sudden and dramatic swiftness during the Session of 1873. Hon. L. S. Huntington, a Liberal, formulated charges to

Sir Charles Tupper

the effect that Sir John and Cartier had received large sums of money from Sir Hugh Allan to carry the recent election. This is what is known as the 'Pacific Scandal,' but it can be better described as the 'Pacific Slander,' the appellation I gave it in one of the hottest debates in which I ever participated. The Opposition alleged that the money had been used to corrupt the electorate, and that Sir Hugh Allan was to be rewarded by securing for his company a contract for the building of the proposed railway to British Columbia.

“ Without going now into details of that historic affair—for it is a large subject in regard to which many misconceptions exist—I can only say that during the debate Sir John lost so many supporters that he tendered his resignation and gave way to Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, whose ministry included a number of our former supporters, seduced from party loyalty by contracts and Government positions and the bribe of portfolios. The Liberals sprung the General Elections in 1874 and swept the country from end to end. Everybody seemed to think that Sir John A. Macdonald and the Conservative party would never recover from the effects of the so-called 'Pacific Scandal,' and that the Liberals were destined to hold the Treasury benches in perpetuity.

“ But just the very opposite happened. Soon



Chas. Joseph
1877.

From an autographed photograph presented to W. A. Harkin, 1913

British Columbia

after the great Liberal victory, a reaction in favour of the Conservatives set in throughout the country, greatly aided by the blundering incapacity of the Mackenzie Government, and the real facts connected with the 'Pacific Slander' becoming known.

Bye-elections and election trials enabled us to reduce the Liberal majority by nearly fifty per cent, and when Mackenzie appealed to the country in 1878, we swept it from end to end with our National Policy. Sir John then found himself on the Treasury benches with a majority of about eighty members.

"Carnarvon Terms or Separation"

"Exploratory surveys in search of a suitable route for the proposed railway were continued by Mr. Fleming after the advent of the Liberals to power. The Crow's Nest Pass route, although known to exist, was not regarded with favour, as it was considered inadvisable to build a line too close to the international boundary, and the Kicking Horse Pass route, subsequently adopted by the C.P.R., had not yet been discovered.

"The consensus of opinion favoured the adoption of the Yellowhead Pass as the point of entry into British Columbia. The question arose as to the most suitable route from that point west-

Sir Charles Tupper

ward to the coast. In 1873, and for the next three or four years, various instrumental surveys were run from the coast eastward to meet other parties working westward from Yellowhead Pass. These routes included one from Port Simpson, twenty-seven miles north of the new city of Prince Rupert; Bute Inlet, Howe Sound and from Burrard Inlet up the Fraser River to Kamloops and thence up the North Thompson, the identical route of the Canadian Northern Railway now under construction. The first-mentioned route is that which was adopted by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. For a time it looked as though the new Government favoured a line from Yellowhead Pass to Bute Inlet, that would bridge the Seymour Narrows and thence extend along the east coast of Vancouver Island to a western terminus at Victoria.

“The delay in starting construction and in carrying out other terms of the Confederation pact aroused considerable ill-feeling in British Columbia. This led the Mackenzie Government to despatch the late Hon. J. D. Edgar (afterwards Sir James Edgar) to the coast in 1874 with the object of effecting a compromise. His mission did not prove very successful, and later in the same year a settlement was effected by Lord Carnarvon, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom the matter had been referred

British Columbia

for arbitration. This settlement is now known as the Carnarvon terms. Mr. Mackenzie gave way to Sir John A. Macdonald's administration in 1878 without having built one mile of railway in British Columbia.

“That bitter feeling existed in British Columbia over the delays is evidenced by an episode that occurred during the visit of Lord Dufferin, Governor-General, in August, 1876. One of the arches along the line of route His Excellency was to follow during the official reception in Victoria, bore this inscription: ‘Carnarvon Terms or Separation.’ Hearing of it the Governor-General declined to pass under the arch unless the wording was altered. His Excellency suggested that the substitution of one letter for another in the inscription would meet his wishes. He suggested that it should read ‘Carnarvon Terms or Reparation.’

British Columbia's Great Destiny

“British Columbia is one of the richest, if not the richest province, in the Dominion. It is on the threshold of a destiny unparalleled in its magnificence. With its salubrious climate and enormous resources, embracing soil, minerals, coal, water-powers, fisheries and forest wealth, no limit can be set to its possibilities. It is a young man's country, and the rewards for

Sir Charles Tupper

industry and enterprise will be well worth striving for.”

And the eyes of the venerable Father of Confederation lighted up with something of their old fire as he added :—

“ There will be millions of people here yet. You will not find any spare ground between Vancouver and New Westminster. It will all be built up into one solid city. The opening of the Panama Canal will have a momentous effect upon the development of British Columbia generally.”

VI

RAILWAY POLICY

Sir Charles as Railway Minister

“**H**AVING been the chief critic of Mr. Mackenzie’s railway policy during our five years in Opposition, Sir John A. Macdonald, in forming his Cabinet in 1878, tendered me the portfolio of Railways and Canals, and assigned to me the chief task of inaugurating a vigorous policy in regard to the building of the line from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast. While the Liberals had not done anything in British Columbia, they had placed under contract some hundreds of miles from Port Arthur westward, and from Selkirk eastward. Mr. Mackenzie’s policy was to place steamboats on the intermediate water-stretches through the Lake of the Woods, his vision not grasping the necessity of connecting the prairies with the head of the Great Lakes by an all-rail line. The Conservative party, it must be conceded, possessed more progressive ideas.

Sir Charles Tupper

The new Government at once decided to link up the gap by a railroad, and lost no time in awarding contracts for over 200 miles to provide an all-rail line from Port Arthur to the Red River.

“ In regard to the western portion of the line between Winnipeg and the coast, two years elapsed before the Government could revise the Mackenzie surveys so as to determine upon the most favourable route. Early in 1880, after getting the results of the various revised surveys and other data, I concluded that the best route was that previously located by the Mackenzie Government, from Yellowhead Pass via the North Thompson River to Kamloops, and thence by the main Thompson and Fraser rivers to Port Moody, the nearest deep-water port on the Pacific.

“ My report to the council was adopted, and soon afterwards I awarded to Mr. Andrew Onderdonk, an American, contracts for building the line from Yale to Savonas, near Kamloops, for about \$8,000,000, and later let the work from Yale to Port Moody. Thousands of Chinese flocked to British Columbia to find employment on the railway.

“ My idea in awarding a contract at the outset for the work between Yale and Kamloops was because it was the heaviest and most difficult section, and its early completion meant the

Railway Policy

breaking of the backbone of the undertaking. Yale, being at the head of navigation on the Fraser, was a convenient base for the distribution of supplies and material.

Not the Canada of To-day

“ I have been criticized for my action in locating the official terminus at Port Moody instead of then extending the line farther westward to the site of the city of Vancouver. Well, all I have to say in reply is that the Canada of 1880 was not the prosperous, wealthy and well-populated Dominion that exists to-day. Our only idea was to get to the nearest point on tidewater affording deep water for shipping, and this Port Moody was found to possess in every respect. The people of Eastern Canada were paying the bill, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had not even been organized or incorporated. It was no concern of mine if the company at a later date, of its own volition and at its own expense, undertook to run their line further westward to Burrard Inlet, thereby laying the foundations of this great city.

“ Our railway policy was received with enthusiasm in British Columbia. It also bore fruit in Manitoba, which was even then attracting considerable numbers of settlers from the older provinces. One of my first acts as head of my

Sir Charles Tupper

department was to change the route adopted by the Mackenzie Government. The plans of the Liberals did not provide for the railway touching at Winnipeg. Mr. Mackenzie selected Selkirk as the point whence the main line would strike west across the prairies. I considered it unfair to isolate a town of the growing importance of Winnipeg.

“Means Ruin,” said Blake

“In the first parliamentary Session of 1880, after Onderdonk had got his contract well under way, Hon. Edward Blake introduced a resolution in favour of stopping all work west of the Rockies. In a vigorous denunciation of the railway policy, he declared that the country was threatened with ruin, for the sake of twelve thousand white people out in British Columbia. His resolution was defeated, although every member of the Opposition, including Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and Hon. (Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, gave it their support.

“When the House rose, Sir John A. Macdonald, who was also Minister of the Interior, observed in council that he had made up his mind that a system of local railways was needed in the Northwest in order to attract immigration. He proposed to bonus them with land grants. He spoke of his intention of going to England that summer

Railway Policy

for the purpose of enlisting capital in the project. 'I wish you all to meet me here this day week with any suggestions or advice you can offer,' was his injunction to his colleagues.

" 'Sir John,' I replied, 'I think the time has come when we must take an advance step. I want to submit a proposition for building a through line from Nipissing in Ontario to the Pacific coast.'

" 'I'm afraid, Tupper, that's a rather large order. However, I shall be pleased to consider anything you have to submit,' was his genial comment.

Tupper's Proposal

" On the appointed day I presented my report to council. It gave estimates and every other detail. My proposition, in brief, recommended that a contract be entered into with a responsible company for the completion of a transcontinental railway on these terms :—

" The company to build, own, and operate a line from Nipissing, Ontario, around north shore of Lake Superior to Port Arthur; and from Winnipeg west to Kamloops, in return for the following :—

" The Government to complete and hand over to the company the line between Port Arthur and Winnipeg and the line from Kamloops to

Sir Charles Tupper

Port Moody, and a branch line already completed from Emerson to Winnipeg; also a cash bonus of \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land.

“The mileage built and then under construction by the Government was about 700 miles. My estimate of the cost of the mileage to be handed over was \$32,000,000, and I recommended that the time limit for the completion of the road by the company be ten years. I gave reasons for my belief that the undertaking could be carried to a successful conclusion, and that strong men could be induced to take hold of the enterprise.

“‘I heartily agree with you,’ declared Sir John in the whole-souled generous spirit that always characterized him, after I had concluded my remarks in favour of a through line, to be built, owned and operated by a chartered company. Our colleagues concurred, and the report was unanimously adopted.

Interesting British Capital

“Shortly afterwards Sir John, Hon. John Henry Pope and I went to England with the object of inducing financiers to interest themselves in organizing a company to build the railway. We were accompanied by Mr. George Stephen (Lord Mountstephen) and Mr. Duncan

Parkeade,
Vancouver,
Jan. 30th/1913

Dear Mr Harkin,

In the Daily
Province of Dec. 14th
last I notice in a
report of our inter-
view I gave you a
serious mistake I pro-
posed 25 Millions of
acres of Land to be
given to the company
not 250 Millions as stated
Please publish this
yours faithfully
W. A. Harkin
Ch. Tupper

Railway Policy

MacIntyre of Montreal. Mr. MacIntyre was then engaged in building a line subsidized by the Government through the upper Ottawa valley to Nipissing. As the line was regarded as likely to form a link in the proposed through line, Mr. MacIntyre hoped to join forces with any combination of British moneyed men that might become interested in the larger railway enterprise. His theory, as later events showed, proved to be correct.

“British financiers did not display any frenzied haste to engage in railway building across the continent. Sir John, soon after landing in England, authorized me to sound Sir Henry Tyler, President of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, in the hope that his board might be induced to favourably consider our proposition. I did so. ‘If you omit the clause providing for the building of a line around the north shore of Lake Superior to Eastern Canada, I shall be pleased to lay the matter before my board of directors. Otherwise they would throw it into the waste-paper basket,’ was Sir Henry’s ultimatum.

“‘We must have a through line,’ I assured him in parting. Sir John, Pope and myself then looked elsewhere for capital. Ten years later, in the General Elections of 1891, Sir Henry Tyler instigated an uncalled-for and deliberate attempt to defeat Sir John A. Macdonald by

Sir Charles Tupper

bringing to bear against the Conservative party all the power and influence of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and also sought to unfairly influence their employees. I made a public accusation against the company on the day on which the poll was declared in Amherst after the election, and this evoked a general denial from him in the London 'Times.' I replied, and the controversy raged for some time. I challenged him to meet me before his board of directors to whom I was prepared to submit the proof, but he declined. The Grand Trunk Railway board subsequently retired Sir Henry.

The Original Syndicate

“ But to revert to our mission to London in 1880. We entered into an agreement with a number of capitalists, who later became known as the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate, to build the transcontinental railway on the precise basis of my report and recommendations to the Government. The agreement was signed in October. The members of the original syndicate were Mr. George Stephen (now Lord Mountstephen), a Montreal financier; Mr. Duncan MacIntyre, Sir John Rose, a former Canadian Minister of Finance; Mr. Kennedy, a New York banker; Mr. Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona), and Baron Reinach of Paris. The

Railway Policy

names of Mr. Smith and Mr. J. J. Hill, however, did not appear, their interest being held by other parties. At a later date Mr. Smith's connection with the syndicate and the company afterwards organized was made public.

“ This followed a reconciliation with Sir John A. Macdonald, from whom he had been estranged since the Session of 1873. Mr. Hill did not long remain a member of the syndicate. He withdrew to devote himself to building the Great Northern Railway. Baron Reinach was a well-known French financier. He afterwards committed suicide, in Paris, in connection with the affairs of the Panama Canal Company.

“ On our return to Canada in the fall, Parliament was called, the chief business being the submission of the contract between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway. At a party caucus held before the debate started, a number of the Government supporters expressed the opinion that the country was proposing to assume greater obligations than it could bear. I gave very detailed explanations to show that these fears were groundless. I concluded my address by declaring that while I did not pretend to be a prophet, or the son of a prophet, I felt confident they would all live to see the Canadian Pacific Railway contract become the strongest plank in the Conservative platform. The Op-

Sir Charles Tupper

position, led by Hon. Edward Blake, fiercely assailed the contract, taking the view that if approved the Dominion would be ruined.

Blake Against, Tupper For

“When the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays after a prolonged debate, Mr. Blake carried the war into the country and addressed large public meetings at London (Ontario), Toronto and Montreal. He denounced the Government in unmeasured terms for having the temerity to ask Parliament to approve of so iniquitous a contract. As soon as I learned his intentions I wrote him asking permission to permit me to appear on the same platform, as I considered it would be more interesting to let the people hear both sides of the case. Mr. Blake, with some reason, I must admit, replied that he could not consent to my suggested arrangement, as the subject was so vast a one that he would need the whole evening to do justice to it.

“Then I requested our friends to publicly announce at each of Mr. Blake’s meetings that I would appear in the same hall on the following night to give my views of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract then before Parliament. I probably had an unfair advantage, as I had his speeches in my hands a few hours after they were delivered, and was thus able to deal with

Railway Policy

his arguments *seriatim*. Sir John Abbott, in complimenting me on my Montreal speech, declared that he never fully realized before the influence of the human tongue. He stated that when the meeting opened one-third of the audience was friendly, one-third was neutral, and one-third was hostile, and that when I concluded speaking, one-third was friendlier than ever, a third was converted, and the other third was silenced," continued Sir Charles, smiling as he recalled the incident.

Bill Carried, Majority 76

"Well, the debate was resumed in Parliament after the holidays, nearly every member of the Opposition going on record in their speeches against the Bill, which, however, was carried by a majority of 76. There wasn't a single vote lost on the Government side.

"Thus was laid the foundation of the great Canadian Pacific Railway, which actually paid working expenses from the date of its completion. The present pre-eminence of that corporation is a household word throughout the world. Even so shrewd an observer as Sir Sandford Fleming once felt constrained to declare that the line could not be made to pay operating charges until the North-west had a population of two million people. History will justify the wisdom

Sir Charles Tupper

of Sir John's Government and the Conservative party in having abounding hope and confidence in the future of the Dominion.

"The next year witnessed the most phenomenal activity in railway construction on the Government sections and on the portion the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had pledged itself to construct. This state of affairs virtually continued until the driving of the last spike by Sir Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), at Craigallachie, B.C., on November 6th, 1885, when the first overland train from the east passed over the line to the Pacific coast. The line was opened for traffic in the following spring.

"My first official trip of inspection to British Columbia was made in August and September, 1881. The journey was made by rail across the continent to San Francisco and thence by steamer to Victoria. My party, in addition to Lady Tupper and Col. and Mrs. Clarke, of Halifax, included Mr. Andrew Robertson, Montreal; Hon. Dr. Parker, Halifax; and Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, Government chief engineer of railways. *En passant* I am glad to note that Mr. Schreiber, although in his eighties, is still active and vigorous, performing similar service in connection with the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. He is a valuable public servant, an engineer of great ability, a high-minded man, and in all my

Railway Policy

career I never met an individual gifted with so great a love of or capacity for work.

Satisfied All as to Route

“ We proceeded from Victoria to Nanaimo, then visited Capt. Raymur’s saw-mill on the water front of the then unborn city of Vancouver. There was then only one house in Vancouver. It was occupied by the manager of the mill. Port Moody and New Westminster were visited before going by steamboat to Yale, the base for railway construction eastward along the Fraser. I rode on horseback from Raymur’s Mill to New Westminster. It was a track through the woods.

“ My reception was very cordial, and I was the guest of honour at a number of public banquets. I found some ill-feeling existing at Victoria over the action of the Government in making the western terminus at Port Moody, instead of at Victoria, as had been originally projected in Mackenzie’s earlier scheme for a railway down Bute Inlet, across Seymour Narrows and along the east coast to Vancouver Island to Victoria. In a public speech I convinced them that the advantages were all in favour of a direct line to Burrard Inlet.

“ At Nanaimo, the mayor and council presented me with an address of welcome, and Mr. Bun-

Sir Charles Tupper

ster, M.P., took advantage of the occasion to attack the Government for not carrying out Mackenzie's promise, to construct a railway from Nanaimo to Victoria. In my reply I paid my respects to Mr. Bunster, much to the amusement of the audience, advising the people that they might have better luck if they exercised more prudence in the selection of their representative. And so they did at the next election," again laughed the veteran statesman.

"As a matter of fact, the trip of Mr. Andrew Robertson, at that time a Montreal merchant prince, was made at the request of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to report on the advisability of that company undertaking the construction of a railway between Nanaimo and Victoria. Mr. Robertson reported in favour of the proposition, but the company, having its hands fully occupied elsewhere at that period, did not take any action, and later the road was built by Hon. Robert Dunsmuir, aided by the assistance of the provincial and Dominion Governments. That same line, after a quarter of a century had elapsed, passed into the control of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

"Our trip inland from Yale to Kamloops, inspecting the railway construction work then in progress, was a novel and delightful experience.

Railway Policy

The route as far as Lytton was along the famous Cariboo waggon road, our chief driver being Mr. Steve Tingley, then famous as a whip. Members of the party occupied the same stage coach used by Lord Dufferin in an earlier trip. Tingley hails from New Brunswick, and very glad was I recently to learn that he is still alive and well.

Inspected Line in Middle West

“ Our party returned to Victoria, took steamer to San Francisco, where I was received and entertained by the Canadian colony, before proceeding to Winnipeg, where railway matters again occupied my attention. I then inspected the main line eastward 130 miles, and westward as far as Brandon, then a town just six weeks old. Construction by the company was meantime being pushed westward across the prairies.

“ At that time the Government, at the request of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, had induced Parliament to consent to modifications in the route. It had been settled that the road, instead of taking the Yellowhead Pass route, should take a more direct course via Bow River and the Kicking Horse Pass, and thence in as direct a line as possible to a junction with the Government section near Kamloops. A tunnel through the Rockies was even then talked of,

Sir Charles Tupper

but this work proved to be impracticable owing to the enormous expenditure involved.

“ At a later period the Canadian Pacific Railway Company desired the Government to extend the line from Port Moody to Burrard Inlet, at the expense of the Government. Its request was refused, as I advised that we had carried out our contract in building to the tidewater, affording good facilities for steamers, and that if the road were to be extended it would have to be done at the expense of the company. This, of course, was done later by the railway itself.

“ I went to England in 1883, to fill the position of High Commissioner for Canada, Hon. John Henry Pope being acting Minister of Railways and Canals during my absence from the Dominion. I still retained my seat in the Cabinet. Meantime the Canadian Pacific Railway was being extended across the continent at a rate of speed never previously attempted anywhere, and probably not surpassed since. This rapid progress was largely due to the marvellous constructive genius of Mr. (Sir) W. C. Van Horne, the general manager.

Tribute to the Builders

“ No problem that ever arose, even that of conquering the Rockies and Selkirks, had any

Railway Policy

terrors for Van Horne. As commander-in-chief he won a world-wide reputation, and was assisted by many able lieutenants, including Mr. (Sir) Thomas Shaughnessy, Mr. Harry Abbott and Mr. R. Marpole. Other notable figures prominently connected with the construction work as contractors or otherwise, were Mr. James Ross, of Montreal; Messrs. (Sir) William Mackenzie, (Sir) Donald D. Mann, Mr. H. S. Holt, of Montreal, and last but not least, Mr. T. G. Holt, Mr. H. J. Cambie and Mr. T. H. White, of Vancouver.

“ Sir Thomas Shaughnessy began his Canadian railway career with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as purchasing agent, in the early eighties. His rise to the position of president of that company was due to sheer merit and ability. He has a forceful personality, is gifted with great administrative ability, and to-day directs the vast operations of the greatest railway enterprise in the world. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a population of about four million people was no ordinary undertaking. When the United States, with a population of forty million, linked Omaha with the Pacific coast by a direct rail, it was heralded as a stupendous achievement. In opposing the railway policy of the Conservative party, one of the stock arguments of the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was to quote (Sir) Sandford Fleming,

Sir Charles Tupper

first chief engineer of surveys, to the effect that an all-Canadian line could not possibly pay until the North-west had a population of two million people.

“ The year 1884 was a critical one in the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Committed to enormous expenditures during the preceding three years owing to the magnitude of the work, its directors had got to the end of their tether. They could not raise any more money in London, where the Grand Trunk Railway Company then exerted a considerable influence. The same fate met them in New York, owing, it is alleged, to the hostile attitude of the Northern Pacific Railway, and Mr. J. J. Hill, then engaged in financing and building the Great Northern Railway.

“ I had gone to Birmingham to propose a vote of thanks for an address on Canada to be delivered by the Marquis of Lorne, a former Governor-General. Lord Norton, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when federation was carried, presided, and it had been arranged that I was to spend a holiday with him at his country seat at Hams. In the midst of the lecture I received a cable from Mr. Pope, acting Minister of Railways, informing me that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was in financial difficulties, and urging me to return home at once.

Railway Policy

At that time I was acting High Commissioner and still held the portfolio of Railways and Canals.

Proposed Loan of Thirty Million

“ I crossed on the first steamer, and on reaching Ottawa found everybody in despair. My first act was to send for Mr. Miall, an expert accountant in the Government service, and Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, Government chief engineer, and instruct them to proceed to Montreal to examine the books of the railway company. As soon as they had reported, I recommended that Parliament be asked to authorize the Government to advance the Canadian Pacific Railway Company \$30,000,000, for four years at 4 per cent per annum, on condition that the company agreed to finish the road five years sooner than the contract called for, namely, 1886 instead of 1891. In Parliament I advocated the granting of the loan on that ground.

“ ‘ Don’t call it a loan. You know we will never see a penny of the money again,’ interjected Mr. Blake across the floor in denouncing the measure. The Opposition gave him its solid support, but the Government carried the day, the Canadian Pacific Railway was practically completed in November, 1885, well within the prescribed time, and, better still, the loan,

Sir Charles Tupper

with interest at 4 per cent, was repaid when due.

“The settlement was effected when Hon. A. W. McLelan was at the head of the finance department. It included the surrender to the Government, in part payment, of lands to the value of \$7,500,000, valued at \$1.50 an acre, which I strongly advised. In this instance, as well as in many others, all the great constructive measures tending to the upbuilding of Canada were carried by the Conservative party at the point of the bayonet.

“At a later date, when acting as High Commissioner in London, my assistance in the flotation of the first issue of \$25,000,000 of Canadian Pacific Railway 5 per cent bonds was sought by Sir George Stephen (now Lord Mountstephen), the then president of the company. I told him not to tell Sir John Rose about having consulted me, and promised to see what I could do in the money market. I was successful in interesting Lord Revelstoke, head of the house of Barings and Glyn, which had always had intimate relations with the Grand Trunk Railway. Later, when Sir George Stephen reached Liverpool on his return from Canada, he was pleased to learn that I had closed a contract with Barings and Glyn, to take half of the issue at 91, with the privilege of issuing the second

Railway Policy

half of the issue at a later date. 'You have given far too much,' was Sir John Rose's comment, when he learned of the transaction. Sir John at that very time was organizing a company to tender at 75.

"Jobbery and Graft" not Proved

"For my prominent connection with the building of the railway I did not escape attack. The 'Toronto Globe' made general charges of jobbery and other improper practices during the period of construction from 1880 to 1885. I induced Sir John A. Macdonald to appoint a Royal Commission to conduct a most searching investigation. The inquiry was conducted by the late Judge Clark, and Mr. Keefer an eminent engineer. The evidence was taken under oath, and the scores of witnesses examined included engineers, contractors, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and myself.

"Not one word of evidence to support even in the remotest way the charges brought by the 'Globe' was adduced. At my request, the secretary of the Commission was instructed to invite the 'Globe' to produce its own witnesses. That newspaper replied that it had no evidence to submit, and that it had simply written on hearsay rumours of jobbery and 'graft.' The proceedings and evidence taken before the Com-

Sir Charles Tupper

mission occupy two large volumes, which are still extant. Thus ended the attempt to slander my reputation as a public man.

“ I have always maintained and still fervently believe that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway would have been an impossibility without the inauguration of the National Policy of the Conservative Party. Our fiscal policy gave Canadians a new sense of independence, preserved their home markets to a certain degree, developed our manufacturing industries, protected our farmers, and by giving employment to our people at home provided us with the revenue to carry out a vigorous railway policy. It stopped the exodus of our young people to the United States, led to the settlement of the North-west, and the development of an enormous interprovincial trade made possible by the existence of railways as well as the great canal system perfected from year to year. If the Eastern Provinces made sacrifices in the first instance on behalf of the West, they are now reaping a just reward. We have to-day a homogeneous and prosperous nation living under conditions not surpassed anywhere on the globe.

“ Many years ago I ventured the opinion that the child was born that would live to see the population of the Dominion exceed the population of the Mother Country. Hon. Mr. White,

Railway Policy

the accomplished and able Minister of Finance, enjoying better opportunities for judging, has gone one better by declaring that this will actually be accomplished within the next twenty-five years. I have little doubt of the accuracy of his prophecy.”

VII

THE "NATIONAL POLICY"

THE so-called "Pacific Scandal," the resignation of the Conservative Government, the accession of the Liberals to power under the leadership of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and the subsequent rehabilitation and vindication of Sir John A. Macdonald by the Canadian people, constitute the most stirring series of Canadian political events in the seventies. Not less important during the same decade was the consistent advocacy of a protective policy by the Conservative leaders, and its crystallization into legislation after the Liberals met with overwhelming defeat at the polls in 1878.

That policy is known to-day, as it was then, as the National Policy. Its sponsor was Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper.

This is evidenced by a speech he delivered in the House of Commons in the Session of 1870, several months before accepting a portfolio in

The "National Policy"

the Macdonald administration. It is an interesting fact that the expression "National Policy" was first used or coined by Sir Charles Tupper in the heat of a prolonged debate in February of that year. His economic faith, shared no less strongly by Sir John A. Macdonald, was championed during the dark days of Opposition from 1873 to 1878 on the floor of Parliament, and at hundreds of public meetings throughout the country. And now, after the lapse of all those years, Sir Charles is proud that protection is still the favourite fiscal policy of the Canadian people.

New Light on Familiar Subjects

In an interview the distinguished baronet explained the causes that led to the first disaster experienced by the Conservative party, and discussed many other related subjects with the utmost freedom, thus throwing a new light on them, and rendering a service to posterity.

In the General Elections of 1872 Sir John A. Macdonald was sustained by a greatly reduced majority, declared Sir Charles, owing to the bitter hostility the Liberals aroused in the country against the building of a transcontinental railway to the Pacific coast. Nova Scotia alone returned a solid Conservative contingent. This was in marked contrast to the prior election

Sir Charles Tupper

in 1867, the first after Confederation, when Sir Charles was the only Conservative elected in his native province.

“History, slow in its final judgments, will some day characterize the so-called Pacific Scandal, which proved the undoing of the Conservatives, as the Pacific Slander, an appellation I gave to the Liberal shibboleth just about forty years ago,” observed the veteran statesman. “It is probably true that both parties spent money freely in the campaign of 1872 in the Upper Provinces. However, when the new Parliament assembled, Hon. L. S. Huntington, member for Sherbrooke, brought charges to the effect that Sir John and his colleague, Sir George E. Cartier, had obtained enormous sums of money for corrupting the electorate from Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal, who was the principal figure in a company organized to build the proposed transcontinental railway.

“Mr. Huntington, in proof, read what he claimed to be the originals of telegrams that had been exchanged between the Premier and Sir Hugh, at that time the senior partner and founder of the Allan steamship line. One of the alleged telegrams from Sir John to Sir Hugh read: ‘Please send me another \$10,000.’ Sir David Macpherson also headed a rival company organized to take advantage of the Government’s

The "National Policy"

offer to build the railway. Sir Hugh had a number of American associates. Sir John notified him that the Government would not have anything to do with him if these aliens were retained, and urged an amalgamation with Sir David's company.

"No arrangement to that end having been effected, Sir John, on behalf of the administration, formed a new company, himself naming directors from the various provinces. Sir Hugh was included in the list. At the very first meeting of the new company Sir Hugh, the president, was overruled. He subsequently went to England to raise capital for the railway enterprise, but failed. He was accompanied by Sir John Abbott, who acted as legal adviser.

The Huntington Charges

"But to return to the Huntington charges. Sir John made no reply, and the House in turn voted confidence in him and his administration. Then a day or two later our leader formally asked the House to deal with the charges by referring them to a committee composed of the leading men of both parties. The House acquiesced, and appointed a committee of which Messrs. Mackenzie and Blake were named members, entrusting it with full authority to send for witnesses and take evidence under oath.

Sir Charles Tupper

“ Sir John, who was anxious for the fullest investigation, expressed doubt as to whether the committee had authority to take evidence under oath, as it was not in conformity with British practice. He referred it to the Imperial Government, which sustained his contention. Headed by Mackenzie and Blake the Liberals refused to serve because the oath was not administered.

“ Sir John then appointed a Royal Commission consisting of three eminent judges, with authority to hold an investigation, to examine witnesses under oath, and report the evidence to Parliament. When everything was known no act of corruption was brought home to the Premier or any member of his Government, which still had a majority in the House. What is more, not one single member of Parliament on the Conservative side was unseated in the subsequent election trials, while a number of Liberals were unseated, and some of them were disqualified.

“ It seems unfortunate,” added Sir Charles, “ that here in Canada there is no institution, analogous to the Carlton Club, entrusted with the distribution of funds for legitimate campaign purposes.

“ It was agreed that Parliament should be called *pro forma* to receive the report of the Royal Commission, and that no other business

The "National Policy"

should be transacted. The Opposition assembled in full force, raised a row at prorogation, and appealed without avail to Lord Dufferin, Governor-General.

Asked Sir John to Resign

“ At the fall Session Mr. Mackenzie submitted a resolution of want of confidence in the Government. Party feeling ran high and the uttermost bitterness prevailed. During the progress of the debate Lord Dufferin sent for Sir John and asked him to resign. I am now making this fact public for the first time, as it was not even known by any of the Premier’s colleagues except myself.

“ When Sir John took me into his confidence, as he always did, I proceeded to Government House and sought an interview with the Governor-General. ‘ Lord Dufferin,’ I said, addressing Her Majesty’s representative, ‘ I think you have made a fatal mistake in demanding Sir John’s resignation. You are to-day Governor-General of Canada and respected by all classes : to-morrow you will be the head of the Liberal party and will be denounced by the Conservatives for having violated every principle of constitutional government. If Her Majesty would to-morrow undertake to do what you have done she might lose her throne.’

Sir Charles Tupper

“ ‘ Well, what do you advise me to do ? ’
asked Lord Dufferin.

“ ‘ I desire to recommend that you cable the
Colonial Office and ask what it thinks of your
action.’

“ The result of that interview was that Sir
John was aroused from his bed at two o'clock
in the morning and notified that Lord Dufferin
had recalled his decision. The record is, I have
no doubt, still on file in the Colonial Office.
The result of my advice was that Lord Dufferin
went home with the acclaim of both parties.
He subsequently had a brilliant ambassadorial
career, after serving as Viceroy of India. Mac-
kenzie and I spoke at the farewell banquet ten-
dered him in London before His Excellency
sailed for Bombay.

Resolution Never Reached Vote

“ But to revert to the prolonged debate on the
want of confidence resolution submitted by
Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, leader of the Opposition.
The discussion proved very animated. I did my
utmost to defend Sir John, but the tide had now
commenced to set in against him. The resolu-
tion never came to a vote, as we lost so many of
our supporters by desertion that the Government
resigned. The Liberals captured six or seven
of our leading men by bribes of seats in the

The "National Policy"

Cabinet and governorships or fat contracts. Of these deserters I shall have more to say later.

"Mr. Mackenzie was called upon to form a Government. He dissolved Parliament soon afterwards, and appealed to the country in January, 1874. We returned a corporal's guard. William Macdonald and I were the only Conservatives elected in Nova Scotia. The Liberal victory was a sweeping one. Even in the moment of defeat I never doubted that the pendulum of public opinion would ere many years swing as strongly in the opposite direction. My judgment was not shared by many of our leading supporters. Sir John was considered politically dead. He thought so himself, but I never entertained that view.

" 'I am done for,' declared Sir John to me in expressing a desire to relinquish the leadership of the party in my favour shortly after our political *débâcle*. The ex-Premier at that period had struck the lowest ebb of his political fortunes. He felt his defeat keenly, and earnestly believed that the people of Canada would never restore him their confidence. His experience has been paralleled by other statesmen in other countries. I knew Sir John's strength better than he did himself. It required every argument I could use to induce him to remain at the head

Sir Charles Tupper

of the party. I told him that he was not only mistaken in regard to himself, but that the strongest lever at the next General Election would be the desire to repair the injustice done to him.

The Period after Defeat

“Despite my efforts, Sir John for a considerable time after our defeat took little part in politics, seeming to prefer to remain in the background. Gradually he recognized that a reaction in his favour had set in, and little by little his old-time jauntiness returned. The bungling incapacity of the Liberals also conspired in his favour. Under a low tariff, from 1874 to 1878, Canada had a business depression never equalled before or since. The farmers had no markets; factories were closed down, and hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were obliged to emigrate.

“The various Canadian provinces enjoyed phenomenal prosperity under the Elgin reciprocity treaty negotiated in 1854. This treaty was abrogated by the United States in 1866. Times were especially good during the American Civil War period. The United States, owing to the vast population withdrawn from industrial pursuits, proved to be Canada’s best customer, and there was no question of a tariff issue, as the

The "National Policy"

abnormal conditions existing south of the boundary gave us all the protection we needed.

"But this situation was not to last for ever. With the close of the Civil War was inaugurated a nation-wide movement for the encouragement and protection of American labour and American industries by the imposition of heavy duties against foreign competitors. That policy is only now on the eve of being modified.

"Hon. W. H. Seward, probably one of the ablest of Secretaries of State, felt confident that the abrogation of the Elgin reciprocity treaty would force Canada into the American Union. In a famous speech just after the close of the Civil War he declared that Canada, owing to its geographical position, with Halifax on the Atlantic and a stretch of country extending to the Pacific, must inevitably dominate the trade with the Far East. He was a man of vision, and his prophecy in that respect has since been verified.

"In those days, owing to the lack of railway facilities, there was little inter-provincial trade. The bulk of the trade of the Maritime Provinces was then with the New England states. The termination of the reciprocity treaty hit us a hard blow, and but for that circumstance I should probably have been unable to convince the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick that our future was in a union with the upper

Sir Charles Tupper

Canadian provinces. Gradually the restrictive policy of the United States' tariff—a policy wisely directed to the upbuilding of American industry—began to be more acutely felt in the Dominion, and its full effects were experienced by the time the Liberals got into power in 1873.

“Mackenzie did nothing to relieve the situation. His low revenue tariff permitted the American people to gain access to our market, while Canadians were virtually excluded from that of their neighbours. The effect of the American high tariff was not only felt by the Canadian farmers and manufacturers, but it produced a largely increased demand in Canada for American manufactures, and a more than corresponding increase in the demand for the manufactures of Great Britain, of which the trade returns of Canada showed abundant proof.”

In Opposition, Back to Medicine

Gifted with a marvellous memory Sir Charles recalled with ease many scenes and incidents in his experiences between 1874 and 1878, the period his party spent in Opposition. Into those four years he probably crowded more work than the ordinary man performs in a lifetime. In addition to making frequent visits to the Maritime Provinces he found time to practise his profession, to tour Ontario, and to attend to his

The "National Policy"

parliamentary duties. Those indeed were strenuous days, and only a man endowed with wonderful physical strength and will-power could have withstood the strain.

"After the Liberal victory in 1874 I engaged in medical practice in Ottawa, usually spending a portion of the summer at St. Andrew's, N.B. When later my son in Toronto was bereaved by the death of his young wife, who left an infant daughter, I decided to remove to that city. It proved to be my headquarters for the next two years. I practised there as a medical man, and also took an active part in politics. I not only attended Liberal meetings and demanded and obtained a hearing, but accompanied Sir John on numerous tours. We probably attended scores of political picnics during the summer months. Not one portion of the province was overlooked," smilingly observed the veteran, as he became reminiscent.

Tupper and Mackenzie

"I had one amusing experience during the first by-election, that of North Renfrew, where the Liberals announced three meetings. Our friends in that riding telegraphed me to meet Mr. Mackenzie, the Premier, who had been induced to speak on behalf of the Government candidate. At the ticket office, whom should I

Sir Charles Tupper

encounter but Mr. Mackenzie? He seemed very angry, and refused to recognize me. We both boarded the same train—on a line which at that time did not extend as far as our destination. When we got to the end of the run we found that the hotel-keeper had reserved us a small table for dinner, our coming evidently having been announced. Seeing the situation, Mr. Mackenzie, who was not without humour, burst out laughing, and I confess that I did likewise.

“ ‘Well, Tupper,’ he said, as we seated ourselves opposite each other, ‘I guess we had better make the best of it. My friends have sent me a sleigh to cover the rest of the trip, so you had better share it with me.’

“ ‘Thanks,’ I replied in declining, ‘but my friends have done the same.’

“ Then and there we agreed upon the arrangements for the meeting. Mackenzie was to speak first, I was to reply, and the Premier was to be allowed fifteen minutes to close the meeting. I drove there in our own sleigh. Mr. Mackenzie spoke very pleasantly and I could only reply in kind. Then he used his fifteen minutes to make an effective attack. I respected our previous arrangement and had to ‘take my medicine.’ Mr. Mackenzie proposed the same arrangement for the next meeting, and I agreed.

“ But I was not caught napping that time.

The "National Policy"

He spoke very pleasantly in his first address, but I used the opportunity to criticize his Government in the severest terms, and evened up the score. And as Mr. Mackenzie had only fifteen minutes in which to close the meeting he did not make a very effective reply," laughed Sir Charles, as he related the incident. The election was won by the Conservatives, whose candidate, Hon. Peter White, later became Speaker of the House of Commons.

Toronto By-election Recalled

"Another memorable by-election was the contest in Toronto to fill the vacancy created by the elevation of Mr. Moss, the Liberal member, to the bench. Our candidate, Hon. John Beverley Robinson, won by over 500 majority. It was at the declaration of the poll that Sir John A. Macdonald made his first public reappearance after his defeat. He received a hearty reception.

"We toured the province together for the next two years. Our party unseated scores of Liberal members in the courts for corrupt practices, and we won a majority of the by-elections, in every one of which, in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, I actively participated. In our various tours the Toronto 'Globe' criticized my speeches the day after their delivery, and it was my in-

Sir Charles Tupper

variable rule to demolish their arguments at the very first opportunity.

“ One of my other favourite subjects was the so-called ‘ Pacific Scandal.’ I publicly defied the Liberals at their own meetings to put their finger on one parliamentary supporter who had left us on that account, and proved that bribery by the Liberals had caused the defections in our ranks. No less than six of our supporters left us to accept seats in the Cabinet ; others were placated with governorships or with fat contracts. Sir Albert Smith of Westmoreland, first elected as a Liberal, got back to the House in 1872 by running as a Conservative. His reward for bolting was the portfolio of Marine and Fisheries. Hon. Mr. Cauchon, later Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, got a seat in the Cabinet for deserting. He was the individual whose ‘ corruption smelt to Heaven,’ according to the indictment of the Toronto ‘ Globe.’

“ Hon. Isaac Burpee, a former Liberal, elected as a supporter of Sir John, was given the Customs portfolio. Two other renegades, Ross of Cape Breton, and Coffin of Shelbourne, also became Cabinet Ministers. Hon. David Laird became Minister of the Interior and afterwards Governor of the North-west. Laird hailed from Prince Edward Island. I went over there in 1872 to take part in the General Election. Laird per-

The "National Policy"

suaded me to leave. He said that the Liberals on the island would give solid support to the Conservatives, because the Liberals in Ottawa had declared the union terms granted the island were too favourable.

A Five Hours' Speech

“ Throughout our days in Opposition we advocated a radical change in the fiscal system of the country. Times were going from bad to worse. The people saw the possibility of relief in the adoption of a higher tariff, but the Government refused to apply the remedy, and clung to office. In a five hours' speech delivered in the House on April 21st, 1877, in submitting a want of confidence resolution, I criticized Mackenzie's administration of his own Department of Public Works. I showed that he had failed to effectually grapple with the question of building the trans-continental railway, and moreover, proved that he had violated the law and every constitutional principle, all resulting in a waste of public money. The Premier was unable to make any reply worthy of the name.

“ ‘ That speech of yours will never be answered because it is unanswerable,’ Sir Leonard Tilley, then Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, wrote me a few weeks later. Mackenzie meant well, but he devoted too much time to super-

Sir Charles Tupper

vising the departments of his colleagues, and doing work which should have been performed by subordinates.

Tupper and Cartwright

“ As chief financial critic I also had many lively exchanges with Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Finance. Cartwright was a gifted man, and resourceful in debate. A Conservative at heart to the end of his days, he left our party because, as I have already said, Sir John A. Macdonald had a few years previously passed him over in favour of Sir Francis Hincks in filling the Finance portfolio. In the Session of 1877 our leader moved, and I seconded, a resolution proposing such a readjustment of the tariff as would benefit and foster the agricultural, mining and manufacturing interests of the Dominion. In the ‘ Hansard ’ of that year, page 471, in my speech on the Budget the following appears :—

“ ‘ The policy of the Government (i.e. the policy of the then Mackenzie Government) as pursued has had the effect of depopulating the country. It has sent away the most intelligent and skilled labour, the finest sons of Canada, to a foreign land to obtain the employment their own country denies them. This is a fatal policy, and one which must induce us to forgo all our aspirations for anything like a rapidly increased

The "National Policy"

population for this country in the future, and to consent to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for our friends across the line in the great republic of the United States. Canada has everything that can be desired to make it a great manufacturing country. We have iron, coal and limestone. Ours is perhaps the richest country for minerals to be found on the face of the globe. We have open harbours, rapid transit and communication through a great portion of the Dominion, and away in the Far West, mines of gold and silver, that in my opinion are going to excel any on the American continent.

“ ‘ All we require is a policy calculated to open up and develop our great natural resources in order to make Canada all that the noblest aspirations of the most patriotic Canadians has ever supposed for a moment practicable. . . . I say Canada could adopt a revenue policy or such a policy with relation to goods coming from Great Britain or from British possessions as the necessities of Canada indicated, and another tariff for all the rest of the world. That would apply only to the United States practically, because our imports from other portions of the world are almost uniformly articles upon which there are specific and not *ad valorem* duties, and we could adjust that in the interests of Canada as we pleased.

Sir Charles Tupper

“ ‘ I have no doubt that this would meet the only serious difficulty represented by the hon. gentlemen opposite, as standing in the way of a true Canadian policy, and one that those who wish to see Canadian industries flourish, feel it is time that the country should grapple with earnestly, and deal with as I have mentioned.’ ”

Prediction and the Result

“ Later on, secret information reached me that Sir Richard Cartwright, reading the signs of the times aright, was getting ready to make radical increases in the tariff. I lost no time in communicating the news to Sir John.

“ ‘ What shall we do ? ’ asked our leader.

“ ‘ Why, congratulate him, of course,’ I advised.

“ Unfortunately for the Liberals they failed to realize their opportunity. When Hon. A. G. Jones, a member of the Government, arrived from Halifax and learned of Cartwright’s tariff proposals, he raised a storm of protest and threatened to bolt. That settled the matter. Shortly after the dissolution of Parliament I called on Lord Dufferin, and in answer to his questions told him that the Liberals did not have a leg to stand upon because their party had started to die the very day it had begun to live. The Government majority had at that

The "National Policy"

time dwindled to about forty, from over eighty in 1874, the year of their tidal wave. As I was leaving Lord Dufferin, who should enter but Mr. Mackenzie! . . .

“ ‘Tupper tells me that the Conservatives are going to win,’ observed Lord Dufferin, addressing the Premier.

“ ‘Oh, he’s a little too sanguine,’ dryly commented Mackenzie.

“ But he misjudged public sentiment, for in the following General Election we routed the Liberals, horse, foot and artillery, returning to power with a majority of over eighty. Sir John was, of course, called upon to form an administration, in which I filled the portfolio of Public Works. I subsequently had the department divided, creating a new department, that of Railways and Canals, of which I took charge. To this day that arrangement exists, other public improvements other than railways and canals being under the direction of the Minister of Public Works.

Under the National Policy

“ The next four years represented years of ceaseless activity and constructive statesmanship, inuring to the agricultural and industrial development of the Dominion. True to our promises we adopted the National Policy at the

Sir Charles Tupper

earliest moment, got under way a vast programme for the deepening of the waterways and canals of the St. Lawrence system, and after the completion of surveys, entered into an agreement for the building of a national transcontinental railway from Eastern Canada to the Pacific coast.

“The effect of the substitution of a protective tariff for the Mackenzie revenue law proved magical. It restricted the exodus, gave employment in the factories to our own idle working men, stimulated every branch of manufacturing, led to the establishment of many new industries and preserved the home market for our own people. The farmer was also given substantial protection. During the Mackenzie administration, Canada became the dumping-ground for the surplus manufactured products of the United States, which, enjoying the benefit of a high tariff, rigidly excluded Canadian products of every description.

Bulwark of National Life

“The National Policy, in my judgment,” added Sir Charles with enthusiasm, “is one of the bulwarks of our national life. It made possible the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, stimulated inter-provincial trade, and developed a solidarity of sentiment that has been growing stronger since Confederation was brought about.

The "National Policy"

"We are to-day a self-contained people, and recent years have witnessed the spectacle of millions of foreign capital being invested in Canadian manufacturing industries. The farmer, too, enjoys his home market. Earlier experiences of Canadian statesmen showed the futility of efforts to induce the United States to negotiate an equitable reciprocity agreement. Our tariff, while ensuring reasonable protection for all our people, has never had the almost restrictive character of the American fiscal system.

"It was a great day for the Dominion when the people rejected the Taft-Fielding reciprocity agreement. Now we are on the eve of witnessing a radical revision of the United States tariff at the hands of Congress, and Canada, without giving any equivalent, will reap enormous advantages. As a people we have demonstrated to the world our ability to develop along national lines. Who that does not recall with pride the attitude of Canadians at the time of the enforcement of the McKinley tariff, many of whose clauses were specifically aimed at our common country?"

Future historians will not fail to give Sir Charles credit for having been the pioneer advocate of a distinctively national policy of protection. His speeches in the days of Opposition, from 1874 to 1878, show an elaboration of detail

Sir Charles Tupper

and ripened conviction on that subject, not quite approached in his earlier public deliverances.

Origin of the Policy

The following quotations from his speech in the Dominion Parliament in February, 1870, throw light upon the origin of the national policy :

“ But this country is so geographically situated, and so varied in its products and natural resources, that nature has placed it in our power to protect ourselves by a policy not retaliatory or vindictive, but by a national policy which shall encourage the industries of our country. By proper attention to the development of our resources, we shall have an interchange of products, and in two years I believe we shall be utterly indifferent as to whether we have a treaty or not. . . .

“ I would ask whether the policy which will bring the people into the country, which will stimulate every industry in the Dominion, is not one that is worthy of the attention of this House, irrespective and regardless altogether of its effect upon the United States : and I have no hesitation in saying that under the effects of a policy such as this, that would restore greater prosperity in this country than we had under reciprocity, we shall not need to go to other countries,

The "National Policy"

nor to the United States for a renewal of reciprocity or improved trade relations, because they will be coming and seeking it at our hands. . . .

"Is it not worth while to try how far we may increase these native enterprises, and give prosperity to the country, by adopting a policy which will meet the unfair opposition by which the Canadian manufacturer is met from other countries? . . .

"My honourable friend the Secretary for the Provinces has relieved his mind to some extent, but I may tell him that this Canadian policy—this national policy, this rational policy—will stimulate the enterprise of all the provinces, and will aid in and assist in building up this great Dominion. And I may further tell the honourable gentleman that so friendly is Nova Scotia to this policy of building up our own interests that there has been but one single newspaper out of the eleven newspapers published in Nova Scotia that has raised any objection to it, and several have come out warmly in its support."

VIII

INTERESTING DETAILS

SIR CHARLES also related a great deal of unwritten inside history respecting the question of the selection of Sir John's successor. Had he accepted the offer tendered him by his leader, Sir John Abbott, Sir John Thompson and Sir Mackenzie Bowell might never have attained the premiership. The story is a typical one of Sir Charles's readiness for self-sacrifice when the interests of his country demanded it, a notable characteristic of his long career. It is on a par with his refusal to accept a Cabinet position until Hon. Joseph Howe, his great opponent in the Confederation fight, had been placated and given a portfolio.

“When acting as Canadian High Commissioner in England I was invited to return to Canada in 1887 by Sir John Macdonald to participate in the General Elections,” said Sir Charles. “I was appointed Minister of Finance, the great feature of my budget being the iron and steel

Interesting Details

policy, introduced with a view to establishing the industry on a solid basis. It did not succeed just then because the iron and steel industry throughout the world at that time was in a depressed condition. However, I always remained a consistent supporter of that policy, and have lived to see its beneficent effects as evidenced by the great industries now established at Sydney, Cape Breton and at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. When my son, Sir Charles Hibbert visited the 'Soo,' some years ago, the manager in showing him about the works remarked: 'We owe all this to your father's initiative. He was the real founder of the Canadian iron and steel industry.'

Campaign of '87

"Well, I plunged into the campaign of 1887 just after Hon. W. S. Fielding had carried Nova Scotia for Commercial Union, which was then the chief plank of the platform of the Liberals. In the face of his victory we not only won fifteen out of twenty-one seats in that province, but again obtained a renewal of the confidence of the Canadian people. Fielding's policy, if carried out, would have resulted in the disruption of Confederation. Later in the same year, and in the early part of 1888, acting as a fellow-plenipotentiary with Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain

Sir Charles Tupper

on behalf of the British Government, we negotiated a fisheries treaty with the United States. The treaty was unanimously approved by the Dominion House of Commons, but failed to obtain the ratification of the United States Senate, despite the earnest recommendations of President Cleveland.

“ After the Session I announced my intention of returning to London. Sir John urged me to stay, but I persisted in my refusal, telling him that he had a good majority, and that I could render Canada better service as High Commissioner. Just about this time Sir George Stephen, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, representing vast interests, called on me and declared that it was my duty to remain in Canada ; that if anything happened to Sir John, I ought to be chosen as his successor. He communicated these views in a letter addressed to Hon. John Henry Pope, Minister of Railways, who gave the letter to Sir John Macdonald. Mr. Pope had always been a warm personal friend of mine. On my earlier visit to England, while still holding the portfolio of railways, during the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, he always looked after my department.

Interesting Details

Offered the Leadership

“The Premier sent for me next day.

“‘If you will only consent to remain,’ urged Sir John in showing me Sir George Stephen’s letter, ‘I will publicly recognize you as my successor.’

“‘But you have already made pledges to Sir Hector Langevin,’ I said; ‘when you were in difficulties over the execution of Louis Riel, the half-breed rebel leader, you told Langevin that he would be your successor if he succeeded in retaining the support of the French-Canadian Conservatives.’

“I further told him that the emergency justified his action, that it was a wise proposition; that nothing could be said against Langevin as a public man, and that the old system in vogue in the days of the United Provinces of an English-speaking man and a Frenchman alternating in the premiership had worked well.

“‘If you will only agree to stay,’ persisted Sir John, ‘I will send for Langevin and the rest of my Cabinet, and designate you as my successor. Langevin, I am sure, will be agreeable.’

“I was firm in my refusal. ‘The true policy,’ I repeated, ‘is to carry out your pledge to Sir Hector. The arrangement before Confederation between Cartier and yourself about alternating

Sir Charles Tupper

in the premiership worked well. It will still work well, and will make a favourable impression in the Province of Quebec.'

Sir John's Alternative

" 'Well,' argued Sir John, 'if you insist on returning to England, I want you to give me Charlie,' referring to my son, Charles Hibbert, who, as member for Picton, had sat continuously in the House since 1882. I naturally consented, and have never had any regrets over that decision. My son was sworn in shortly afterwards as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, gave Sir John loyal support, and served in successive Conservative administrations until our defeat in 1896. His last portfolio was that of Minister of Justice. He served as British agent in the Behring Sea arbitration in Paris in 1893, and in recognition of his public services was knighted by Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

"My son's entry into public life was unpremeditated, having been brought about by an accidental circumstance. In the early stages of the campaign in 1882, there was a factional fight among the Conservatives in Pictou, and two rival Conservatives insisted on trying to capture the party candidature. While the deadlock was in progress, they consulted my son from Halifax to see if he could effect a friendly

Interesting Details

settlement of the schism in the party. Neither man would give way to the other, but both agreed to accept Charles Hibbert Tupper as a compromise candidate. He was elected, and in his first Session had the honour of being invited by Sir John to move the adoption of the address in reply to the speech from the throne.

“ When my son sat down after his first speech in the House, Hon. Edward Blake, the Opposition leader, crossed the floor to the Ministerial side and, grasping my hand, remarked with unusual warmth : ‘ Permit me to congratulate you upon your son’s brilliant effort. In all my parliamentary career I never heard an opening address delivered with equal ability. Please introduce me, for I wish to tender my congratulations.’ ”

As the Grand Old Man of Canada related this incident he spoke with just a touch of pride in his voice, the just pride of a parent who felt honoured by the hearty compliment paid his son by his strongest political opponent.

Sir John’s Last Campaign

Sir Charles referred with no little feeling to the seventh and last election campaign he waged in 1891 under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald. In many respects it was the most bitterly contested election ever fought between

Sir Charles Tupper

the two political parties. The issues were sharply defined. The chief plank in the Liberal platform was the advocacy of a policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, a modification, at least in name, of the policy of Commercial Union espoused by the Opposition in the campaign of 1887.

The Conservatives went to the country pledged to a continuance of the National Policy and to the preservation of British connection, which they maintained would be jeopardized by a Liberal victory. 'A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die,' was the campaign slogan of the venerable premier, who braved the hardships of severe wintry weather in a dramatic tour of Ontario.

Sir Charles Tupper, summoned from England, at Sir John's urgent request entered the fray with all his old-time vigour and proved an inspiration to the party. He addressed scores of public meetings in the Maritime Provinces, as well as in Ontario and Quebec. A tower of strength, he contributed very largely to the Conservative victory.

Hon. Edward Blake, alarmed at the dangers of the radical policy advocated by his friends, refused to run, but was unwillingly persuaded not to publish his reasons until after the election. This he did in the London "Times," in which he

Interesting Details

avowed his refusal on the ground that the policy of unrestricted reciprocity would end in the political absorption of Canada by the United States.

Close of Sir John's Career

Sir John did not long survive the great party victory. Less than four months later he was stricken with paralysis, dying at Ottawa early in June, 1891. That his death was hastened by dissensions among his French-Canadian followers is regarded as highly probable. Sir Charles gave a graphic recital of the last days of Sir John's dramatic career.

“ Before I returned to England after the election, I was informed by Sir Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia, that Mr. J. Israel Tarte, M.P., a Government supporter and well-known journalist, had secured evidence of corruption against Sir Hector Langevin, and that Tarte was determined to prefer charges in Parliament. I at once sent for Mr. Tarte, who informed me of his intention to drive Langevin from public life. He convinced me that he could do so.

“ ‘ You have carried the election, but there are rocks ahead,’ I told Sir John, without a moment's delay. I gave him my information about Tarte's resolve. To Tarte I said : ‘ Would you object to Langevin's appointment as Lieutenant-

Sir Charles Tupper

Governor of Quebec ?' ' I am agreeable to that arrangement,' replied Tarte.

" I then saw Sir John, who had broken down physically under the strain of the recent campaign. He looked ill and worried. When I suggested Langevin's transfer to Government House at Quebec, Sir John replied : ' How can I do that, when Langevin denies the charges ? ' I then went into conference with Sir Hector, who protested his innocence.

" The charges were not preferred in Parliament until after I had reached England. Before the investigation got under way, Sir John was stricken and passed away. The end of the affair was that Sir Hector was forced out of the Cabinet. Tarte established his charges of corruption and ' graft ' in connection with the Larkin-Connelly contracts for Quebec harbour improvements. Tarte went over to the Opposition, and did effective work in bringing Sir Wilfrid Laurier into power. He was awarded a portfolio, and reached high rank in party councils.

" In justice to Sir Hector's memory it should be said that no act of personal corruption was brought to him, but there was maladministration in his department by his subordinates. He was more sinned against than sinning."

Interesting Details

Tupper in Vienna when End came

Sitting as a delegate at an International Postal Congress in Vienna, Sir Charles received a cable advising him of the death of Sir John Macdonald. The various messages which were interchanged between Ottawa and Vienna during the interregnum have never been made public.

The political situation in Ottawa after the premier's demise was tense. The Liberals expected to see the Government driven from power before the end of the Session as a result of the impending inquiry over the Tarte charges. On the part of the Conservatives prompt action in selecting Sir John's successor was regarded as imperative. The exigencies of the hour required it. Sir John Abbott, leader of the Government in the Senate, was invited by the Governor-General, Lord Stanley of Preston, to form a new administration. It was well understood at the time that this was to be a temporary arrangement. He did so, and his successors during the next four years were Sir John Thompson and Sir Mackenzie Bowell.

“The day after Sir John's death I received a cablegram from the Conservatives of Kingston, his old constituency, offering me the nomination and assuring me of a large majority. My son, Charles Hibbert, also cabled me that a certain

Sir Charles Tupper

number of Government supporters in the House favoured the selection of Sir John Thompson for the office of Prime Minister. The moment I got this intelligence I sent a reply telling him that nothing in the world would induce me to accept the honour if tendered to me, and that I would not stand in Thompson's way, as I had been responsible for getting Thompson to leave the Bench to join the Government. To my friends in Kingston I also cabled declining the nomination with thanks."

The Iron Industry

Sir Charles does not believe that the Conservative party has been given the full share of credit for taking the first steps to establish the iron and steel industry in the Dominion. He was the first Minister of Finance to establish iron and steel industries in Canada. Events proved that his legislation was premature, as the price of iron and its products fell nearly 50 per cent in England during the next few years. His policy was reintroduced and adopted by the Liberal Government years afterwards with his hearty support and concurrence.

"When Leader of the Opposition in 1896, I paid a visit to Sydney, my constituency, the site of a struggling iron industry. A deputation composed of the City Council and Board of Trade

Interesting Details

waited on me and asked me to assist them in getting the industry firmly established. In reply I dwelt on the possibilities of its development, showing that the economic conditions were favourable. Messrs. H. M. Whitney and Mr. Graham Fraser, who were interested in the project, informed me that the Government had refused to pay a bounty, and invited me to go to England to raise capital for the establishment of a large plant. In reply I told them that I had a better plan, and stated that I would interview the Government and pledge the support of the Opposition to any policy it might adopt for the purpose of assisting that industry.

“ I afterwards visited St. John to formally open an exhibition there, and during my stay I met Hon. Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, and Hon. William Patterson, Minister of Customs, in the Liberal Government. To them I submitted reasons why the iron and steel industry was deserving of Government aid in the way of bounties, and made a formal offer of the support of the Conservative Opposition to any policy that might be introduced in Parliament. They both agreed to reconsider the question.

“ Later, when I learned that they had taken favourable action, I remarked at Ottawa, in the presence of Hon. Mr. Borden : ‘ I am glad to hear it. I would rather remain in Opposition

Sir Charles Tupper

than be guilty of refusing my support to the bounty system.'

"When they were boasting what wonders it would accomplish, I told them in Parliament that they had taken too much credit to themselves, and reminded them of the Opposition's support, which I had pledged. Fielding replied that he had never refused aid to the industry, so it remains a question of fact. However, Mr. Graham Fraser later wrote Mr. Whitney reiterating what both had told me, that the Government had previously refused to grant any aid to the industry."

Transpacific Service

It is not generally known that Sir Charles Tupper took the lead in the establishment of the present Empress Line steamship service between Vancouver and the Orient.

"Shortly after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway," observed Sir Charles, "I went to Lord Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and told him that Canada had built the Canadian Pacific Railway without the assistance of the British Government, and that under the circumstances I felt that we were entitled to an Imperial mail subsidy for a mail service across the Pacific. I asked him for an annual subsidy of £45,000, pointing out that Canada had agreed

Interesting Details

to contribute £15,000 a year for the same object.

“ The matter remained in abeyance during my visit to Canada and I entrusted the negotiations in my absence to Sir John Rose. He was unsuccessful, and on returning to England I took up the matter again.

“ ‘ You have convinced me, but it will be impossible to get the House of Commons to make the grant,’ was the reply of Lord Goschen to my appeal. He was mistaken, however, for the Canadian Pacific Railway obtained the mail subsidy, and in the debate the only objections made were that the grant was too small, and that a more frequent service should have been provided for.

Favoured Fast Atlantic Service

“ Years afterwards, with Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, I took up the question of the establishment of a fast Atlantic steamship service, also expressing my views thereon at an address before the Royal Colonial Institute, with Lord Lorne in the chair. I induced Mr. Chamberlain to agree to an annual subsidy of £75,000 a year for a period of ten years. Then I came to Canada to arrange the details with Sir Mackenzie Bowell, at that time Prime Minister of the Dominion, and when leader in the House of Commons I

Sir Charles Tupper

submitted a resolution authorizing the Government to grant £150,000 annually towards an eighteen-knot service and to enter into a contract, subject to the approval of Parliament. The resolution was adopted.

“ Then I awarded a contract to the Allans of Glasgow, but Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General, in defiance of constitutional procedure withheld his assent, despite the fact that Parliament was to meet three weeks later. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier attained power, his Government refused to ratify the contract, though they made several unsuccessful attempts afterwards to carry out the same policy.

“ In view of the rapid development of Canada in recent years I am to-day heartily in favour of the establishment of a twenty-two-knot service, which I hope to see shortly accomplished.”

IX

CONSERVATIVE DEFEAT

IN this, one of the last of the series of interviews accorded to the late William A. Harkin, Sir Charles Tupper discussed many past political events, national and imperial, with his usual lucidity and candour. A participant in all of them, the veteran statesman supplied many facts hitherto unpublished and threw interesting sidelights on several important periods of Canadian history. His vision of the great destiny the Dominion is to play on the North American continent is inspiring. It is a prophecy based on a rounded knowledge and an optimism which the weight of more than ninety-two years cannot suppress.

The valuable diplomatic services rendered to Canada abroad by Sir Charles have long been recognized by all patriotic Canadians. It has already been shown that he was a pioneer in the movement that resulted in preferential treatment of British products, a movement that gives promise of ultimately embracing the

Sir Charles Tupper

whole Empire. The cause of Imperial Federation has always been close to his heart. On that subject he has strong views, but he entertains no illusions as to the problems which will first have to be solved in order to make it effective.

His correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald in regard to Imperial Federation is illuminating. It also shows the attitude adopted towards it by Sir Hector Langevin, a Cabinet colleague, who was the leader of the French-Canadian Conservatives.

Not the least important part of the interview is the description of the rôle played by the Father of Confederation in the negotiation of the Fisheries Treaty at Washington in 1888. How serious the situation had become, the Dominion being threatened with the enforcement of a policy of non-intercourse, Sir Charles fully describes. Trouble was averted, but not a moment too soon, and the negotiations in which Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper participated, resulted, in the end, in the removal of the ill-feeling previously existing in the United States against Canada over the Atlantic fisheries dispute.

Session of '95 and After

“The downfall of the Conservative party in 1895-6 was occasioned by the determination of

Conservative Defeat

the Government not to deal with the Manitoba school question in the Session of 1895. The delay resulted in that question being thrown into the final Session of Parliament, which ended on a certain day and enabled Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, to join with a large section of the Orangemen in preventing the Government from passing the remedial legislation giving effect to the decision of the judicial committee of the Imperial Privy Council," explained Sir Charles in reply to a query. "Sir Wilfrid had himself previously demanded the strongest form of coercion of Manitoba by demanding the disallowance of the Act of the Manitoba Legislature abolishing separate schools. The attitude taken at that time by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir John Thompson was that the question being before the courts, the final decision of the Privy Council must govern.

"When a majority of the members of the Bowell Cabinet had resigned, and the party had been broken into pieces, I was reluctantly induced to come to the rescue on the meeting of Parliament in December, 1895. Asked by the recalcitrant members of the Cabinet to assume the leadership, I refused, declaring that I would not do so except at the request of the Premier, Sir Mackenzie Bowell. It was not until all efforts on his part at reconstruction had failed,

Sir Charles Tupper

that he requested me to become leader of the party. I told him that I would do so if he were prepared to receive back all his colleagues, to which he assented.

“ The Government was then reconstructed by my appointment as Secretary of State and leader of the party in the House of Commons until after the Session was over, when, by arrangement, I was to succeed Sir Mackenzie Bowell as Prime Minister. Sir Mackenzie proposed that my son, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, should succeed me in the office of Canadian High Commissioner in England. I told him that in view of the vitally important question of the establishment of a fast Atlantic steamship service, for which I had previously made arrangements with Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, and the impending Pacific cable conference, I thought it desirable that the position should be tendered to Lord Strathcona in consideration of his prominent financial standing. One of my first official acts on assuming the Premiership was to appoint Lord Strathcona High Commissioner. Sir Mackenzie Bowell was also appointed jointly with him as one of the delegates to represent Canada at the cable conference.

The Remedial Bill

“ In consequence of Bowell’s refusal to deal with the Manitoba school question at the pre-



SIR CHARLES TUPPER IN 1898
Curtis Brown News Bureau

Conservative Defeat

vious Session by seeking to carry out the mandatory decision of the Imperial Privy Council, Hon. A. R. Angers, one of the French-Canadian members of the Cabinet, had resigned, and efforts to fill the vacancy had proved fruitless.

“When I moved the second reading of the Remedial Bill granting relief to the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba, Sir Wilfrid Laurier joined Mr. Dalton McCarthy and a number of members of Parliament, members of the Orange Order, in opposing the measure. The Opposition leader moved the six months’ hoist. Notwithstanding that I still had a Conservative majority to support the Bill, nothing could be done, as the combination resorted to obstruction. I kept the house in continuous Session from Monday to Saturday. This proved unavailing, as in the absence of closure I was helpless, and the Opposition took advantage of the fact that on a certain date the House would die by the effluxion of time.

“Sir J. A. Chapleau, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, and a former colleague, who had led me to believe that he would come to my aid in the General Election, was induced by ✓ Mr. Israel Tarte, M.P., to recede from that position. The school question was a big issue in the campaign. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who had succeeded in defeating the measure in the House,

Sir Charles Tupper

carried the Province of Quebec by a declaration that his objection to the Bill was that it did not go far enough, and by pledging himself to restore the rights of the Manitoba Catholics in all their entirety if necessary. The result was that Chapleau's defection and the hostility of a large portion of the Orange element in Ontario led to my defeat.

“ I was induced to remain as leader by the unanimous voice of the party, and after four years' service had the satisfaction of seeing it heartily reunited. In Ontario, where Sir Wilfrid, at the opening of the poll in 1900 had a majority of twelve, I reversed that, and at the close of the poll had a majority of eighteen seats, but not enough to counteract the Liberal landslide in the Province of Quebec. In that election I sustained my first personal defeat, as I devoted nearly all my time to the campaign in Ontario. It is only right to say that I refused an offer to be returned with a Liberal candidate in Cape Breton county without a contest, and that provision was to be made for my Conservative colleague, Mr. Macdougall.

Lost Office, but not Power

“ Although we lost office we did not lose power, as we had the pleasure of seeing the protective policy, which had been bitterly op-

Conservative Defeat

posed by the Liberals, adopted by them as the only means of remaining on the Treasury benches. When the South African War broke out, Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared his inability to do anything to aid the British Government. I pressed him in the strongest manner, and pledged him the support of my party to the policy of sending a Canadian contingent. I was fortunately able to induce him to change his attitude in regard to that important question.

“ While my son, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, one of the ablest men in the House of Commons, after twenty-two years’ service—including eight years in the Ministry—was obliged, on personal grounds, to practically abandon public life, he had the satisfaction of proposing Hon. R. L. Borden as leader of the Opposition. Mr. Borden gave me able and effective support in the House for four years. I need not say that his subsequent action as leader of the Conservative party in Opposition, and his triumphant course as Prime Minister, has been a source of intense satisfaction to myself. Under Mr. Borden’s administration Canada has attained a higher position in Great Britain than it had ever before reached. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I need not say, is a gentleman of great personal attraction and brilliant eloquence, and I cannot but regret that he was ever induced to abandon his protectionist

Sir Charles Tupper

principles, which also caused him to meet with defeat in the constituency he first represented when awarded a portfolio in 1876.

Newfoundland and Canada

“ I have always attached great importance to the inclusion of Newfoundland within the Dominion of Canada, and many years ago Sir John Macdonald, who entirely agreed with me on that subject, asked me to call at Newfoundland on my way from England. This I did. On that occasion I had a meeting with all the leading men of the Opposition and a full discussion with the Government of the colony. I submitted the terms on which I was willing to recommend union. Objections were raised in Newfoundland, and the matter was left in abeyance.

“ The last time I saw Hon. Mr. Bond, a former Premier, while attending the Imperial Conference in London, he said to me : ‘ If you or your son had been at Halifax when the conference with the representatives of Sir Mackenzie Bowell took place, our island would now form part of the Confederation. We told the Canadian delegates that if they would give us the terms proposed by you we would join the union, but to this they would not agree.’

“ I have no hesitation in saying that Canada to-day would be justified in immensely increas-

Conservative Defeat

ing those terms to provide for the complete consolidation of all of the British possessions in North America, and I hope, in the interest of both, to see such an arrangement carried out.

“While the Confederation of British North America in 1867 was sustained by both parties in England, there is reason to believe that many public men in both parties regarded it as a stepping-stone in getting rid of any responsibility connected with Canada. Now, after the lapse of years, it is very gratifying to know that at this moment an overwhelming change has taken place in the sentiments of their successors, and the time has come when all parties in Great Britain recognize the vital importance of maintaining the solidarity of the Empire,” continued Sir Charles. “Canada has already established preferential trade with New Zealand and South Africa, and there seems to be little doubt of the ultimate success of negotiations for a similar arrangement with Australia.

Unionists and Food Taxes

“I confess I cannot understand the recent difficulties encountered by the Unionist party in England in relation to the taxes on food. In my opinion the question was effectually disposed of by the proposal to limit the impost on foreign foodstuffs to two shillings a quarter.

Sir Charles Tupper

All the statistics available at Mark Lane established beyond controversy that no such impost on flour and wheat, while giving a preference to the Dominions and tending to stimulate settlement of agricultural areas and increase the production of bread-stuffs, would ever adversely affect the price of bread in Great Britain.

“This preference would be of inestimable advantage to Canada in one other respect. I mean that it would remove any annexationist sentiment that might linger in the minds of the millions of Americans who are pouring into Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

“While it is impossible to say what the political result may be when at no distant day the population of Canada will exceed that of the Mother Country, the movement towards the complete consolidation of Great Britain and the great outlying dominions will steadily increase. Looking at the climatic conditions, resources and geographical situation of Canada, I cannot but think that the future will show that the men of the north will be the dominating power on this continent,” added the aged baronet in prophetic tones.

“Coal is a great factor in national greatness. Unlike our neighbours, we have inexhaustible areas of it, not only on the Atlantic and Pacific, but inland in the western provinces from the

Conservative Defeat

boundary line to the shores of the Arctic. We likewise have abundance of natural gas and a wide distribution of the precious metals, with vast regions scarcely prospected.

“In her fisheries Canada has also an unrivalled asset. We have a wheat-growing area which is being steadily extended north to the Mackenzie River basin, and a fertile soil adapted for the production of all other kinds of cereals and grains, as well as boundless forests. Our natural resources, in a relative sense, have scarcely been touched. Profiting by the experience of older nations, I am glad to see that conservation methods are being adopted. Our water powers are unsurpassed. They are being harnessed to operate our factories, tramway cars and railway systems, and in time to drive all our industrial machinery.”

X

EMPIRE CONSOLIDATION

RESUMING his reminiscences and forecasts Sir Charles Tupper said :—

“The consolidation of the Empire on the basis of mutual preferential trade is coming sooner than most people imagine. A good start has already been made, and Canada will share in all those advantages. The history of the movement is not uninteresting.

“In 1879 a delegation consisting of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Leonard Tilley, Minister of Customs, and myself—then Minister of Railways—visited England. On that occasion we submitted a proposition to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. The proposition I referred to concluded in these words :

“The Government of Canada is prepared, under arrangements with the Imperial Government, and with the assent of the Canadian Parliament, to give distinct trade advantages to great Britain as against foreign countries, and

Empire Consolidation

they have sought to do so to a limited extent, in their arrangement of the present tariff; but, believing that the Imperial Government were not favourable to direct discriminating duties, the object in view was sought and obtained through a somewhat complex classification of imports.

“ ‘The policy of Canada towards British manufactures is not, therefore, such as to exclude them from our markets, but points to an arrangement such as, if adopted, might give us sufficient for revenue purposes, and at the same time be of infinite advantage to the Empire.’

“ Our efforts were unfortunately unsuccessful.

Back to '84

“ When the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, the founder of the Imperial Federation League, called upon me to discuss the question of Imperial Federation in 1884, I told him that the most careful consideration I had been able to give to the subject led me to the conclusion that the means of drawing the Mother Country and the colonies more closely, and binding them together for all time would have to be found in such fiscal arrangements as, I was satisfied, could be made, by which the outlying portions of the Empire would be treated by that great country on a different footing from foreign countries. His

Sir Charles Tupper

reply was : ' Well, I am a Free Trader, but I am not so fanatical a Free Trader that I should not be perfectly willing to adopt such a policy as that for the great and important work of binding this great Empire together.'

" On January 19th, 1888, Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P. for North Bruce, made an eloquent speech in favour of a discriminatory tariff throughout the British Empire, and on February 1st the Toronto branch of the Imperial Federation League was organized.

" In 1889 I was invited to express my opinion at the annual dinner of the Imperial Federation League, of which I was not then a member. In my speech I said :—

" ' I am afraid that you will not be able to maintain public interest in the League much longer, unless you propound some practical policy for promoting the unity of the Empire, which is your avowed object. I, therefore, venture to suggest that a conference might be called by the Imperial Government of representatives of the self-governing colonies to consider the best means of promoting that object, and I am inclined to the opinion that when a conference takes place it will be found that the adoption of a policy of mutual preferential trade between Great Britain and her colonies would provide the tie of mutual self-interest in

Empire Consolidation

addition to the purely sentimental bond which now exists.'

Interesting Correspondence

" I became a member of the League, and Lord Rosebery—who was then President—consulted with the Prime Minister on the subject. I may say that my suggestion in favour of preferential trade between Great Britain and the Colonies met with unfriendly criticism in an unexpected quarter, as will be seen by the following correspondence:—

“ ‘ LES ROCHERS, ST. PATRICK,

“ ‘ RIVIÈRE DU LOUP,

“ ‘ *August 14th, 1889.*

“ ‘ MY DEAR TUPPER,—

“ ‘ Your speech on Federation has excited much attention in Canada and a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec.

“ ‘ The manner in which it has been treated by the English Press generally, which will insist that you have spoken the opinions of the Canadian Government, and, as if by its authority, has aroused the suspicions of the French, and makes me look forward to some unpleasant discussions in our Parliament. The Opposition will oppose, of course, and they will attempt to make cause with the French, and may carry a vote against (1) Imperial Federation, and (2) a

Sir Charles Tupper

conference as proposed by you. It would be well, I think, for you to let it be known as widely as possible that you spoke your own opinions, and not in any way as High Commissioner.

“ ‘ Yours faithfully,

“ ‘ J. A. MACDONALD.’

“ ‘ To this I replied as follows :—

“ ‘ 9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,

“ ‘ LONDON, S.W.

“ ‘ September 13th, 1889.

“ ‘ MY DEAR SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD,—

“ ‘ I have been much surprised to learn that my action in regard to Imperial Federation has excited a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec. I send you herewith a detailed report of all the proceedings in this connection, and am satisfied that after reading what has taken place, you will agree with me that my action has been quite misunderstood by our Quebec friends. You are aware of the fact that, although you and two other members of the Government are on the council of the Imperial Federation League, I have stood somewhat aloof. I have not disguised the opinion that the difficulties in the way of a parliamentary federation were insuperable.

“ ‘ When I proposed that a conference should be invited to consider the practicability of

Empire Consolidation

adopting a fiscal policy by which colonial products would be protected here against those coming from foreign countries, I only propounded a policy which I had avowed as the policy of our party when in Opposition, and which you and Sir Leonard Tilley and myself subsequently formulated and submitted to the Colonial Minister. As I said in my speech, I expected it would have the hearty support of every well-wisher of Canada, involving as it did a policy that would rapidly bring millions of capital and hundreds of thousands of agriculturists to make Canada blossom as a rose. Had I made this proposition on behalf of Canada, I would have had some ground for doing so, but I did not. At the special meeting of the council, as you will see by the reference to the appendix in this letter, I said: "I do not in any way represent the Government of Canada, but simply express my own views and opinions with regard to this question." Lord Rosebery emphasized that statement by saying at the same meeting: "Sir Charles Tupper expressly disclaims speaking in an official capacity, or as a representative of the Canadian Government."

"I do not see how I can well do more to counteract the erroneous impression that I spoke in an official capacity, but I will not fail to take any suitable opportunity of relieving

Sir Charles Tupper

you and your colleagues of any share of the responsibility of my utterances. When I made this bold proposal to strengthen the tie that connects Canada with the Crown by taxing corn and cattle from the United States of America and all other foreign countries—for such in effect it was—I had little idea that it would be received with such favour here or be so completely misunderstood in Canada. It not only involves no change in the constitution of our country, but substitutes an alternative that ought certainly to commend itself to all who are opposed to such a change.

“ ‘ Yours faithfully,

“ ‘ CHARLES TUPPER.’

“ To this letter Sir John Macdonald replied as follows :—

“ ‘ OTTAWA,

“ ‘ September 28th, 1889.

“ ‘ MY DEAR TUPPER,—

“ ‘ I have your semi-official letter of the 13th inst. With respect to the Imperial Federation matter, you have taken the matter too much *au sérieux*. I thought it well to write you, as Langevin became nervous, not so much at the remarks made in the Opposition papers here, as at the quotations from the English Press which were widely disseminated by the Opposi-

Empire Consolidation

tion. These English papers expressly stated that, although you declared that you did not speak for the Canadian Government, you would not have so spoken unless from instructions. The Quebecers here have got into their heads that your proposal that a general conference should be held, involved the discussion of the expediency of altering the British North America Act. This, though unfounded, caused some alarm. I have read your letter in council, and discussed the whole question, and I think we shall not hear anything more about it.

“ ‘ Yours faithfully,

“ ‘ JOHN A. MACDONALD.’

“ In reply to a deputation of the Imperial Federation League in June, 1891, Lord Salisbury said : ‘ I think we are almost come to the time when schemes should be proposed. You have stated a problem . . . I might almost call it an enigma. We are to invite the Colonies to share in the responsibilities and privileges of the Empire in such a manner as not to disturb the constitution of this country, or that which is enjoyed by the Colonies. The solution of this problem does not lie on the face of it ; it will require the labour of many able brains before a satisfactory solution is arrived at. The matter is one not for vague and uncommitting sentiment,

Sir Charles Tupper

but for hard thinking and close examination, and for the utmost effort that the highest and strongest intellect of our times can give to a problem in which the Empire is concerned.'

" It was in these circumstances that at a large meeting of the Imperial Federation League held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on June 17th, 1891, I made this motion, which was unanimously adopted: 'That a certain carefully selected committee be appointed to submit to the council a scheme for the consideration of the organizations of the League throughout the Empire by which the objects of Imperial Federation may be realized.'

Belgian and German Treaties

" I took up the question of the Belgian and German treaties with my colleagues representing in Britain the various self-governing colonies, and we sent the following communication to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

“ ‘ LONDON,

“ ‘ November 20th, 1890.

“ ‘ MY LORD,

“ ‘ We desire to thank your lordship for the intimation conveyed us in Mr. Bramston's letter of the 10th inst., that the committee appointed to consider the approaching expiry etc., of various European commercial treaties, have expressed their concurrence in the view

Empire Consolidation

that the Colonies should have the opportunity of stating their views respecting the effect of the various European treaties.

“ ‘ In accordance with your lordship’s request, we take the opportunity of stating, for the information of the committee, that we are all of the opinion that the treaties with Belgium and Germany of 1862 and 1865, respectively, should be terminated as soon as possible, in order that Great Britain may be in the position of being able at any time to make closer commercial arrangements with the Colonies, or any of them, without being subject to the restrictions that are contained in those treaties. We venture to think that the importance of the matter is one that cannot be overrated, whether regarded from the colonial standpoint or from that of Great Britain.

“ ‘ We consider also that the principle should now be formally conceded by Her Majesty’s Government—which has been accepted in many cases in recent years—that no commercial treaty should in future be binding upon the Colonies without their assent, but that every such treaty should contain a clause enabling the Colonies to participate in its provisions, or not, as they may desire.’

“ The movement we thus launched did not attain its objects until 1897.”

Sir Charles Tupper

Imperial Trade

Meantime Colonel Sir Howard Vincent, M.P., founded the United Empire Trade League in conjunction with Rt. Hon. James Lowther, M.P., which worked energetically and indefatigably in favour of the development of trade between all parts of the British Empire upon mutually advantageous terms and upon a preferential basis. In 1889 a conference was held at Ottawa, where representatives from Australia and South Africa met the Government of Canada at their invitation, and at which the Imperial Government was represented by the Earl of Jersey. At this conference a resolution was carried in favour of mutual preferential trade.

“Immediately after assuming the office of Prime Minister in 1896, I delivered an address before the Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce in Montreal in favour of preferential trade, and made that policy a principal feature of my appeal to the country. The Toronto ‘Globe,’ the organ of the Liberal party, came out in strong opposition to the preferential trade policy, but it aroused great enthusiasm in Ontario, and the leader of the Opposition—now Sir Wilfrid Laurier—finding the “heather on fire” declared to the electors at London, Ont., that he was as strongly in favour of that policy as myself, and

Empire Consolidation

pledged himself to do all in his power to carry it out ; so it ceased to be an issue.

“ After my defeat in 1896, Sir Wilfrid and his majority, for eighteen years, knowing that they could not retain power if they did anything to weaken the protection of Canadian industries, maintained a clause giving a reduction to any country whose tariff was as favourable to Canada as that of Canada to them. They maintained that such a reduction would only apply to Great Britain, but they found, as I told them in Parliament, that owing to the Belgian and German treaties, England could not enjoy the proposed reduction, while several other countries could.

Conference of 1897

“ When the conference of 1897 took place, Mr. Chamberlain said that if the premiers of all the Colonies joined in asking the denunciation of those treaties it would be done. They passed a unanimous resolution, and the treaties in question were denounced. Canada then enacted a reduction in favour of Great Britain (*eo nomine*). Subsequently, when Sir Michael Hicks Beach re-enacted the registration duties, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Hon. Mr. Fielding informed the Imperial Government that if these and any similar duties were remitted to Canada they

Sir Charles Tupper

would increase the preference already given, and if this were not done they would consider themselves at liberty to withdraw the preference already given. Unfortunately Hon. Mr. Ritchie, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, abolished these duties, although they had given the Treasury over \$2,500,000 without increasing the price of bread.

“ On May 16th, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain made a speech strongly favouring preferential treatment of the Colonies, and a year later that distinguished and patriotic statesman resigned his high office and consecrated his unrivalled talents to the promotion of tariff reform and the consolidation of the Empire by preferential trade. From that hour, the cause of this great fiscal policy has steadily advanced. The last meeting of the chambers of commerce of the Empire had declared in its favour, and the great Unionist party stands pledged to make tariff reform its first constructive policy, and to secure the unity of the Empire by responding to the demands of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa for mutual preferential trade.”

Federating the Empire

Sir Charles contributed an article, “ Federating the Empire; a Colonial Plan,” to the “ Nineteenth Century ” for October, 1891. That

Empire Consolidation

he spoke as a prophet is indicated by the following extract :—

“ Having examined the subject in all its details, and having devoted a great deal of thought and consideration to it, I believe that the solution of what I am afraid Lord Salisbury considers an insoluble enigma will be found in that direction. I regard the time as near at hand when the great provinces of Australasia will be confederated under one Government. I consider that a most vitally important movement, not only to those Colonies but to the Empire itself, because it is in that direction that I look for a great advance with regard to Imperial Federation. I know there may be differences of opinion on that point ; but I believe that, great as are the difficulties which lie in the way of inducing provinces to give up their autonomy and merge themselves in a larger body in which they may be over-weighted, the advantages and necessities to Australasia of being united under one central Government are so great that they will steadily overcome all obstacles which stand in the way of such a movement.

“ When this has been done,” the article continues, “ it will be followed, I doubt not, at a very early day by a similar course on the part of South Africa, and then we shall stand in the position of having three great dominions, com-

Sir Charles Tupper

monwealths, or realms, or whatever name is found most desirable on the part of the people who adopt them—three great British communities, each under one central and strong Government. When that is accomplished, the measure which the Marquis of Lorne has suggested, of having the representatives of these Colonies during the term of their office here in London, practically Cabinet Ministers, will give to the Government of England an opportunity of learning in the most direct and complete manner the views and sentiments of each of those great British communities in regard to all questions of foreign policy affecting the colonies.

“ I would suggest that the representatives of those three great British communities here in London should be leading members of the Cabinet of the day of the country they represent, going out of office when their Government is changed. In that way they would always represent the country, and necessarily the views of the party in power in Canada, in Australia, and in South Africa. That would involve no constitutional changes ; it would simply require that whoever represented those dominions in London should have a seat in their own parliament, and be a member of the Administration.

Empire Consolidation

Advantages of the Plan

“ It requires no material alteration in the constitution of this country and it would be found entirely practicable to provide that when a member of the Cabinet of Australasia, of South Africa, or of Canada represented it in London, he should ex-officio be sworn a member of the Privy Council in England, and practically become a Cabinet Minister here, or at any rate should be in a position to be called upon to meet the Cabinet on every question of foreign policy, or, at all events, when any question that touched a colonial interest was being considered. In that way their Governments would be brought in perfect *rapport* with the Imperial Government. And the advantage would be twofold; they would have the opportunity of addressing to the whole Cabinet the views that animated the Governments of their Colonies, and they would have the advantage of learning fully the views of the Government of this country, and in that way be able to communicate its sentiments more perfectly to their respective Colonies.

“ I do not doubt that in almost every instance Her Majesty’s Government would have their united support on any question of foreign policy that touched a colonial interest. They would thus have the most enthusiastic support of those

Sir Charles Tupper

three great subsidiary Governments forming a complete whole. In that way I believe that, while they would be quite unable to overrule the Government charged with the administration of public affairs in Great Britain, they would be able so to represent their views as to give them all the weight to which they are entitled. I think that would fully meet the views of the outlying portions of the Empire, giving them, as it would, an opportunity of expressing their opinions and of exercising their influence in relation to questions of foreign policy."

Changes in Thirty Years

"The national evolution of Canada in its diplomatic position has undergone many important changes during the past thirty years," remarked the Grand Old Man, in reply to another question. "The Canadian Government in 1879, having appointed Sir A. T. Galt High Commissioner for Canada in London, applied to Her Majesty's Government to have him appointed a commissioner where treaties were being negotiated in which Canada was interested.

"Sir Michael Hicks Beach, then Secretary of State, in a despatch to Lord Lorne, said: 'In reply I have to inform you that it is not thought desirable to appoint a Canadian commissioner to take part in the negotiation of any treaty,

Empire Consolidation

but if your Government desire to send a person enjoying their confidence to advise with Her Majesty's Government, or with the British ambassador, on any questions that may arise during the negotiations, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to give attention to his representations.'

"Having been appointed to succeed Sir A. T. Galt, I took up the question with Lord Derby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the assistance of Lord Fitzmaurice, who was then Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, and of the late Sir C. M. Kennedy, then at the head of the commercial department of that office, I obtained for Canada the right to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign countries. The Foreign Office sent a letter, dated July 26th, 1884, containing the following extract: 'If the Spanish Government are favourably disposed, the full power for these negotiations will be given to Sir Robert Morier and Sir Charles Tupper jointly. The actual negotiations would probably be conducted by Sir Charles Tupper, but the convention, if concluded, must be signed by both plenipotentiaries.' In 1893 I negotiated in this manner, in conjunction with the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, a commercial treaty between France and Canada.

"The first and only time that a Canadian

Sir Charles Tupper

representative took a position independent of Great Britain was at the International Congress for the protection of submarine cables held at Paris in 1883. Twenty-five Powers were in attendance. I represented the Dominion, and at one session, when an important point was being discussed, I voted against all my British colleagues. The next day Sir Charles Kennedy, one of the British delegates, asked for a reconsideration of the question. This was agreed to and the British delegation voted as I did, having in the meantime consulted the Foreign Office. 'We were all of the same opinion as yourself at the first discussion, but voted in accordance with the views of Lord Lyons, the British ambassador,' Sir Charles Kennedy remarked to me afterwards."

XI

THE FISHERIES TREATY

THE veteran statesman also revealed a good deal of interesting and hitherto unwritten inside history respecting the negotiations with the United States in connection with the Chamberlain Fisheries Treaty of 1888. That the rôle he played in that matter was regarded as an important one, and that his proposals resulted in a settlement of a vexatious dispute, is evidenced by the fact that he was shortly afterwards created a baronet by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. Full credit for suggesting a basis of settlement was given to him by Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, his fellow-plenipotentiary, in official despatches sent to the Foreign Office, which are still extant.

“ In 1868, as a delegate of the Canadian Government, after a sharp struggle, aided by the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Buckingham, I succeeded in inducing the Right Hon. Col. Stanley, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to concur in the views of the Canadian Govern-

Sir Charles Tupper

ment as to the protection of our Atlantic coast fisheries. That was the year following the action of the United States in denouncing the Elgin reciprocity treaty of 1854. Our first step was to double the licence for fishing in our waters, and to seize their vessels for violation of the law," said Sir Charles. "This vindication of our rights resulted in the treaty of 1871, which allowed the free entry of our fish in the United States, and provided for an international arbitration.

"After adjudication and hearing of evidence, the arbitrators awarded to Canada about \$500,000 annually as compensation for the fish caught in Canadian waters by United States fishermen. When in 1883 this treaty was abrogated by the United States, Canada had no alternative but to protect her rights under the treaty of 1818. The result was a hue and cry throughout the United States. The Republican and Democratic Press joined in denunciation of Canada for its alleged cruelty to their fishermen.

Tupper at Washington

"When Hon. Mr. Bayard was Secretary of State I visited him in 1887 in Washington, at his request, to discuss the relations of the two countries. He met me with the frank declaration: 'Well, Sir Charles, the confederation of Canada and the construction of the Canadian

The Fisheries Treaty

Pacific Railway have brought us face to face with a nation, and we may as well discuss public questions from that point of view.' I at once perceived that he, at all events, recognized the fact that those great measures had disposed of the question of our political absorption.

“ After my return to Ottawa we had a friendly correspondence, copies of which were given to Sir John A. Macdonald and to Lord Lansdowne, Governor-General. Lord Lansdowne in turn communicated with the Colonial Office. The result was an arrangement for a conference at which all outstanding questions between the two countries, including the Behring Sea seal fisheries, the Alaska boundary line and the Atlantic fisheries were to be discussed, and, if possible, disposed of. I advised the Imperial Government to select Sir John Macdonald as fellow-plenipotentiary to act with Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. Sir John would not hear of this proposal and insisted that I should go, so I was appointed one of the joint British plenipotentiaries to negotiate the proposed treaty. My other colleague was Sir Lionel Sackville West, British minister at Washington.

“ Hon. Mr. Bayard, who afterwards served as American ambassador at the court of St. James, Mr. (now Judge) Putnam of Massachusetts and Professor Angell of Michigan, represented the

Sir Charles Tupper

United States. The negotiations occupied several months. We had no sooner got to work than Bayard's attitude underwent a complete change and the scope of our discussions became greatly restricted. Simultaneously the leading American newspapers attacked me personally, asserting that there was no hope of a treaty being negotiated as I was so exigent in my demands on behalf of Canada.

Chamberlain and Bayard

“No progress was made for weeks, and Mr. Chamberlain and I were negotiating in diplomatic parlance for the best ground to break up on, when an idea occurred to me which I lost no time in communicating to my colleague. I advised him to write to Mr. Bayard a letter asking for a private interview at the Bayard home, and to then and there tell the American diplomat of the anxiety of the British Government to negotiate a treaty. I further suggested that my colleague should submit two or three points, stating that if the United States agreed to them he would go down to Ottawa to endeavour to obtain the agreement and consent of the Dominion Government thereto, and thus avert the breaking off of the negotiations.

“Mr. Chamberlain had the private interview with Mr. Bayard, who looked on the proposition

The Fisheries Treaty

with favour, and who lost no time in obtaining the concurrence of President Cleveland. This disposed of a very unpleasant situation. Negotiations were resumed after the Christmas holidays, and a treaty, settling the dispute over the Atlantic fisheries, was signed by all the plenipotentiaries of both countries.

“The treaty was sent to the Senate by President Cleveland, with the declaration that it was a fair and just settlement of the question, together with a *modus vivendi* offered by the British plenipotentiaries to provide for the interim pending the ratification of the treaty by Congress and the Dominion House of Commons. The United States Senate having a Republican majority, which was unwilling to give the Democratic party any advantage in the impending presidential election, rejected the treaty. “We cannot allow the Democrats to take credit for settling so important a dispute,” a leading Republican senator told me at the time, in justifying the attitude to be taken by his party.

The Queen Honours Tupper

“I consider withal that the British won a great diplomatic victory, as the treaty and *modus vivendi* provided that everything that the United States had declared to be theirs by right, under the treaty of 1818, was to be enjoyed for

Sir Charles Tupper

a *quid pro quo*. I returned to Ottawa and carried the treaty through the House of Commons by a unanimous vote, and an act giving effect to the *modus vivendi* was also passed.

“ This last-mentioned measure, based on the *modus vivendi*, gave American fishermen certain privileges, such as buying bait in Canadian harbours, and buying supplies and the transshipment of fish caught outside the three-mile limit. The *modus vivendi*, despite the rejection of the treaty by the United States Senate, served an admirable purpose, as it removed all feeling and bickering between the two countries in regard to the Atlantic fisheries.

“ It was renewed by Canada from year to year, and only became inoperative years afterwards, when the Hague tribunal arbitrated the question of the interpretation of the treaty of 1818 and effected a lasting settlement. Hon. A. B. Aylesworth, Minister of Justice in the Laurier administration, represented Canada at the arbitration, and afterwards—in the House of Commons—declared that the basis of settlement of the question was the treaty we negotiated at Washington in 1888. It should also not be forgotten that although defeated in the presidential election, President Cleveland polled 100,000 more votes than his successful opponent, Benjamin Harrison, who in his subsequent address declared that the

The Fisheries Treaty

modus vivendi had removed all irritation between Canada and the United States.”

The Imperial Government expected that result. This is indicated by an official letter Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, wrote to Sir Charles Tupper. The original communication is as follows :—

“ LONDON,

“ August 24th, 1888.

“ DEAR SIR CHARLES,—

“ I have great pleasure in being authorized to inform you that the Queen has been pleased to confer upon you the honour of a baronetcy in token of her appreciation of the good service you rendered to her and to the Empire at the recent conference at Washington. The value of that service will not be affected in the end by the untoward conclusion to which the discussion of the present Senate at Washington has come.

“ Believe me,

“ Yours very truly,

“ SALISBURY.

“ Sir Charles Tupper.”

Relations were Strained

How strained were the relations between Canada and the United States prior to the negotiations at Washington may be gathered from the speech of Sir Charles in moving the

Sir Charles Tupper

adoption of the treaty in the House of Commons on April 10th, 1888. The following extract tells the whole story :

“ I have told you what position Canada stood in with regard to the United States before the initiation of these proceedings. I have told you that we stood face to face with an enactment which had been put on the statute-book by a unanimous vote of Congress, ratified by the President, providing for non-intercourse between the United States and Canada. I need not tell you that that Bill meant commercial war, that it meant not only the ordinary suspension of friendly feeling and intercourse between the two countries, but that it involved much more than that.

“ If that Bill had been brought into operation by the proclamation of the President of the United States, I have no hesitation in saying that we should have stood in relation to that great country in a state of commercial war, and the line is very narrow which separates a commercial war between two countries from an actual war. Speaking a year ago, I pointed out in my remarks, with a view to prevent the possibility of such an act going into force, all the advantages that in our present position we could avail ourselves of to protect ourselves against such an unfriendly act on the part of the United

The Fisheries Treaty

States. I then said it would be a mad act, and I say so now.

“ No man who knows anything of the intimate commercial relations which exist between Canada and the United States could contemplate such an act going into operation without feeling that it would tear up from the foundation those intimate and social relations which exist between these two countries, which in friendly commercial rivalry are making a rapid progress which has attracted the attention of the civilized world. It would produce a condition of things the end of which no man could foresee. If that act had been adopted, we had no means of looking to any increased commercial intercourse between that great country and the Dominion of Canada.

“ Under those circumstances it behoved the Government of Canada to adopt any means in its power to avert such a disaster, which great as it would have been to Canada, would have been still greater to the United States. But it would be a very poor compensation that the companion in misfortune was suffering more than we suffered ourselves. We found Congress putting on the statute-book a direction to the President that, on the first United States vessel being seized or harassed, or refused the advantages to which they said they were entitled, he, as the

Sir Charles Tupper

executive of that country, should put that Non-intercourse Act into force.

“That was the condition of affairs when I went down last Easter to see Mr. Bayard at Washington. If you compare the condition of things to-day with the condition of things which existed then, there is no man, I care not how partisan he may be, how unfriendly to this Government he may be, who can judicially look at the position of this question then and now, without coming to the conclusion that we have emerged from midnight darkness into the light of day under the auspices of this treaty.”

Many tributes have been paid by writers in both hemispheres to this grand old statesman—now nearing his ninety-second birthday—one of which may well be quoted here: “The two aims he always kept in view,” said one who knew him well, “as a loyal subject to his Queen and as a jealous guardian of the honour of his people, have been the strengthening of the golden link which connects Great Britain with the first and greatest of her colonies, and the holding aloft of the standard of right of the nation, so that she may prove herself worthy of the proud position she has made her own.”

APPENDIX

SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S FIVE-HOUR SPEECH ON THE RAILWAY POLICY OF THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT

Revised Hansard, April 21st, 1877

Mr. Tupper (in Committee of Supply).—Mr. Speaker, in rising to make the motion of which I gave notice to the House, I may say, at the outset, that I intend, so far as possible, in the remarks I shall have to make in reference to this very important question, to endeavour to pursue the course which the hon. the First Minister marked out for himself in the observations he addressed to the House on this subject yesterday. He said he intended to deal with the subject, apart from considerations of a party or political character. Now, I am afraid it will not be in my power altogether to pursue that course; but in dealing with a question of such magnitude as the policy of the Government in regard to the great national work of the country, I will confine myself, as much as I can, to a statement of the facts in regard to the course pursued by the Government as they present themselves to my mind, and, so far as may be possible, without drawing into the consideration of the question anything calculated to turn the attention of the House aside from the real merits of the subject under discussion. It is fortunate that, at the outset, both parties are able to agree as to one point—that is, not only to the importance, but, I may add,

Sir Charles Tupper

the necessity of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The hon. the First Minister has himself, on more than one occasion, given to the House his own emphatic opinion that the construction of this work was a matter of the gravest public necessity. It is quite impossible for any person to look at the position that Canada occupies without arriving at that conclusion. We had obtained possession of a vast and magnificent country—the fertile prairies of the North-West—and it became at once apparent that if that boundless field for cultivation and for settlement, a country in extent and fertility not to be surpassed by any country on the face of the globe, were to be utilized and made to subserve the interests of Canada as it ought to subserve them, means of rapid and easy intercommunication between the old and settled parts of Canada and that fertile section of country, the prairies of the North-West, should be established as early as possible. Then, when we came to look at the position which British Columbia occupied, the necessity became still greater. The importance of adding British Columbia to the consolidated British North American Provinces comprised in the Dominion of Canada, requires no argument at my hands. It was only necessary to look at the position Columbia occupied, extending along a considerable portion of the Pacific coast and lying in proximity to our neighbours to the south of the line, to see that, if we were to derive the advantages desirable, that if this country was to obtain the consolidation that was necessary it was certainly necessary that, at as early a period as possible, a line of railway should be established from one end of this country to the other, uniting and consolidating it. It was under that impression that the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway became a part of the policy of the late Government. It is quite true, that measures had been suggested, and suggested by parties from that

Appendix

Province, which, while involving the necessity for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, deferred to a more remote period the accomplishment of the work; but when the Government came to examine and investigate the whole of that question, they came to the conclusion that the most economical mode—the mode most advantageous to the interests of British Columbia, as well as of all Canada—would be to enter upon that work, and, if possible, secure as far as the means of the country would permit, the construction of that railway as promptly as was possible. A great deal has been said with regard to the arrangements made on that occasion. It would not have been necessary for me at this time to direct the attention of the House for a single instant to the legislation which has taken place, or to the proceedings in Parliament in reference to this question, but for a statement, which, I am sure, was inadvertently made by the hon. the First Minister on a former occasion—that down to 1873 no scheme for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway had been propounded. The House will remember that on the 1st of April, 1871 (and I will only turn to public records in regard to these matters, if hon. gentlemen should question the statement I am making to the House), the address containing the terms of union between British Columbia and Canada was passed in this House. Hon. members will remember that during the progress of the discussion on the question of the terms upon which British Columbia should be admitted as a part of this Dominion, great exception was taken to the undertaking, that the surveys for the railway should be immediately commenced, vigorously prosecuted and the road itself constructed within ten years. After a good deal of controversy in regard to this matter, the late lamented Sir George Cartier, who was then leading the House in the absence of the right

Sir Charles Tupper

hon. member for Kingston, who was then in Washington, with a view to set at rest all doubts on that point, and to remove from the minds of every person any misapprehension or fear that the financial position of the country would be too seriously involved by undertaking to carry out so great a work, moved a resolution defining the terms and limiting distinctly the engagement we were undertaking. That resolution declared that the road should only be constructed as a private undertaking, that all the Government had to do was to provide a grant of land and of money such as the ability of the country would enable it to give, and that the construction of the work should not involve an increase in the rate of taxation. I will read the resolution to the House, in order that its terms may be distinctly understood. It is as follows :—

“ That the railway referred to in the Address to Her Majesty, concerning the Union of British Columbia with Canada, adopted by this House on Saturday, the 1st of April, instant, should be constructed and worked by private enterprise and not by the Dominion Government ; and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industries and resources of the Dominion, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine.”

Now, although a good many points were the subjects of controversy between the two sides of the House, between the late Government and hon. gentlemen who were in opposition to that Government, this question was not one of them. The policy propounded in the resolution submitted by Sir George Cartier commended itself not only to the judgment of the supporters of the Government, but to both sides of the House, without a

Appendix

single exception. The only objection taken by hon. gentlemen opposite to the resolution, which seemed to be sufficiently distinct in its term, was, not any doubt, as to the policy proposed, but it was held that the terms were not strong enough in declaring that the road should not be constructed by the Dominion Government; and Mr. Dorion, then a member of this House, moved in amendment to add to the motion, not to alter a word in it to change any part of its terms, the words "and not otherwise." The object was to make it stronger. We held that the resolution which declared that the railway should not be constructed by the Dominion Government, but that it should be constructed by a private company, aided by a grant of land and money, was sufficiently strong, and rendered it impossible for any Government, without the express sanction of this House, to endeavour for a single moment to depart from these terms. The hon. the First Minister has characterized the engagement made by the Parliament of Canada, as stated by me to the House, in very strong terms. He has, as will be seen on reference to the debate in 1876, used the following language:—

"Let me say, so far as the work is concerned, that I have always been an advocate of the construction of a railway across the continent, but I have never believed that it was within our means to do it in anything like the period of time within which the hon. gentlemen bound Parliament and the country."

I am glad to be able to establish that point which will be conceded by every one, that the hon. gentleman had always been a strong advocate of the construction of this railway across the continent. So as to the main question regarding the necessity of the work, it will be found that both sides of the House agree. The hon. gentleman continued:

Sir Charles Tupper

“I believe the bargain was an act of madness—of utter insanity, and an evidence of political incapacity that has had no parallel in this or in any other country, that I am aware of.”

The language contained in that statement is very strong, and it will become my duty in a few moments to turn the attention of the House to the position which the Government occupied on that question, which the hon. gentleman felt himself warranted in characterizing as an “act of madness and utter insanity.” It will be remembered that the Address passed the House on the 1st day of April, and on the 11th the resolution which I have just read was passed, preventing the Government undertaking to construct the Pacific Railway until they could obtain a private company, who, with such a grant of lands and money as the country could afford, without increasing the taxation of the people, would undertake the work. That last clause might, on the surface, seem somewhat unreasonable, but I will call the attention of the House to this fact: That, during the first seven years of Confederation, as the hon. the Finance Minister was able to prove by public documents in London, we had not only carried on liberally the public service, and reduced the rate of taxation \$2,000,000 per annum, but we had also contributed something like \$16,000,000 to capital expenditure, including the sinking fund, causing the reduction of the public debt to that amount from the surplus revenue. If hon. gentlemen will remember that, they will see that it was quite within the power of the Government to undertake the work without increasing the rate of taxation at all. I may be asked, “What reason have you to suppose that the prosperity of the country would continue?” In reply I will ask any hon. member what he believes the result of the accomplishment of the scheme of the late Government would have been

Appendix

in relation to the financial condition of Canada to-day. Suppose the late Government had succeeded in doing that which they endeavoured to accomplish—floating that scheme in London for the construction of the railway upon the terms stated—I would ask any hon. gentleman what the result would have been of bringing such an enormous amount of foreign capital into the country, giving early, complete and rapid communication with the fertile prairies of the North-West, and pouring an enormous tide of immigrants into that country to become taxpayers with ourselves, and to lighten the burdens which now rest upon our own shoulders. I think there is not an hon. member in this House who would not be ready to believe that, had it been possible to accomplish what was proposed under this scheme, and to secure the construction of this railway on the terms stated, that the steadily rising tide of Canada's prosperity would not have stopped, or, at all events, that we should have maintained the position which we then occupied. But I may be told that it was on the 1st of April that the address was passed, and that it was not until the 11th that it was qualified by this resolution. The House must remember that we were not dealing with a foreign Power or with parties who were prepared to take any rigid or technical advantage of the Government; but we were dealing with those who were to be a portion of ourselves, who would have a common interest with ourselves in having the work prosecuted in the way most advantageous to the country, and who would be deeply interested that the financial credit of Canada should not be imperilled, or that any result should follow which would be injurious to the country to which they had irrevocably linked their own fortunes. But I have still more conclusive evidence in relation to that matter. It will be remembered that when the Address was passing the

Sir Charles Tupper

House we had then present in Ottawa some of the delegates from British Columbia, who had been authorized to represent the Province in these negotiations, and prominent among them was Mr. Trutch, the late Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. I will trouble the House for a few moments by reading an extract from the speech he made at the banquet provided for his entertainment. He said :—

“ We from British Columbia were prepared to accept the amendment of the scheme, and we accordingly proceeded to calculate the time it would probably take to build the railroad, and we agreed upon an estimated period of ten years. If it had been put at twelve or fifteen years, British Columbia would have been just as well satisfied, and if the estimated period had been reduced to eight years, she would scarcely have been better pleased. But some definite period for the completion of this work, the British Columbians insisted upon as a necessary safeguard to our colony in entering into the proposed union. To argue that any other interpretation will be placed upon the railway engagement by British Columbia than that which I have given to you as my construction of it, to argue that she expects it to be carried out in the exact interpretation of the words themselves, regardless of all consequences, is a fallacy which cannot bear the test of common sense.

“ The case stands thus : British Columbia is about to enter into a partnership with Canada, and one of the terms of the articles of partnership is, that we are, under the partnership, to construct a railroad under certain conditions. Is British Columbia going to hold her partner to that which will bring ruin and bankruptcy upon the firm ? Surely you would think us fools indeed, if we adopted such a course. I would protest, and the whole of British Columbia would protest, if the Government proposed to borrow \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 to construct this road ;

Appendix

running the country into debt, and taxing the people of British Columbia as well as the rest of the Dominion to pay the burden of such a debt."

I will not occupy the time of the House by reading further, but the speech is much longer and has a great deal more in it to the same purpose. What I have read, however, contains the point of the case. Well, Sir, the Minister of Finance in introducing his Budget Speech in 1874 also alluded to this question; and as a great deal has been said by the First Minister, who has used the terms "madness, insanity and utter incapacity" in connection with this act on the part of the late Government, I may, perhaps, be excused for taking up a little of the time of the House in meeting, and, I think, disposing of at once and for ever, I trust with all reasonable men, any charge based on such terms as these. In referring to this resolution, which qualified this engagement, the Minister of Finance said:—

"So very strong was the feeling that it was afterwards determined that a certain resolution should be placed on the Journals of the House, which, indeed, was actually done, and by which it was declared that, although we had committed ourselves to this claim, it was only on condition that the road should be made in a certain fashion, and that no excessive burden should be placed on the resources of the country."

It would be difficult, Sir, to find language more appropriately or more lucidly conveying exactly what the action of the late Government and of Parliament in this matter had been. He also says:—

"I have also been informed that the British Columbia delegates were themselves assenting parties to this resolution.

"That, however, I do not know of my own personal

Sir Charles Tupper

knowledge. This I do know, that I myself called the attention of Sir George Cartier, the then Minister of Militia, to this extraordinary provision, asking him if he had communicated it to the Legislature of British Columbia. Someone of the delegates was then sitting near the chair of the Speaker, I am not sure which of them, but I think it was Governor Trutch."

Sir George Cartier's reply was that :—

"There was no need to do so, because the delegates were fully cognizant of the whole matter and were assenting parties thereto. And, although I do not say we can or will dissent from the consequences of our legal obligations, I do say that at any rate the people of British Columbia had very fair notice of what was the intention and meaning of this House when these obligations were undertaken."

I give this, Sir, as the testimony—I will not say of a hostile witness—but of an hon. gentleman, who was disposed himself to criticize, with a great deal of severity, the course which the late Government had pursued in entering into this engagement. Then we had recess at six o'clock, and the hon. gentleman returned at 7.30 o'clock and resumed his speech. He had investigated the matter in the meantime, and he then made some further observations which I will read to the House. He says :—

"Before I proceed further, I desire to correct an error that I fell into with regard to the resolution of April, 1871, passed after the treaty with British Columbia was agreed to. I had been under the impression that that resolution declared that the Pacific Railway should be built without unduly increasing the taxation of Canada. The actual text is stronger still. Sir George Cartier moved and Mr. Tilley seconded a resolution setting forth that the Railway referred to the Act concerning the union between British Columbia with

Appendix

Canada, adopted on Saturday the 1st of April, should be constructed by a company formed of private individuals, and not by the Dominion Government; that the company building it should be assisted by liberal money subsidies and liberal grants of land, provided always that *no increase* of the then rate of taxation should hereafter be determined on in consequence."

The hon. gentleman, in revising his speech, has very properly put the words "no increase" in italics, it being the strongest feature of the resolution. The hon. gentleman continued:—

"That, Sir, was the resolution placed upon our Journals on the motion of Sir George E. Cartier, seconded by Mr. Tilley. It was of value for the reason I have alluded to, because it was represented to us at the time it was passed that the delegates from British Columbia were assenting parties thereto."

Now, Sir, I think I am not required to take up much more time on that feature of the subject, but I may say that following up the resolution meeting the engagement which the late Government assumed, and which Parliament assumed in relation to this matter, it became the duty of the Government to bring before the House what they considered a liberal grant of land and a sufficient aid in public money in order to accomplish this work without increasing the rate of taxation; and, Sir, we submitted to the House resolutions which will be found on the 145th page of the Journals of 1872, declaring that this House would grant \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land for that work; and we also provided, in addition to this, that the Pembina Branch should be embraced in the resolutions, and should have a subsidy of 20,000 acres of land, and that the branch connecting the line with Lake Superior should have a subsidy of 25,000 acres of land per mile.

Now, Sir, we may leave the Lake Superior branch out

Sir Charles Tupper

of consideration altogether, for this reason; it was then supposed that it would be absolutely necessary to go north of Lake Nepigon in order to obtain a line at all, but by subsequent surveys it has been found, and on both sides of the House it has been agreed, and both the late and present Governments were quite agreed on the question, that, as matters now stand, whenever the main line is constructed, at whatever time that may be, that a fair, passable line has been found skirting the shores of Lake Superior within some ten miles of Lake Superior, and, therefore, this disposes altogether of this question of branches with the exception of the Pembina Branch. We therefore committed the House and country distinctly to the undertaking of providing thirty million dollars and fifty million acres of land for any company found possessed of sufficient means and resources to undertake the construction of that work. The First Minister has again and again referred in very strong terms to the inadequacy of that appropriation; but, Sir, I think I may draw the attention of the House to the fact that we have better evidence than that of any opinion the First Minister is capable of giving on this question. The First Minister is a gentleman of undoubted talent and ability and of high standing in the country; and although I do not suppose that he is at all wanting in appreciation of his great powers, I am quite certain that he will not himself undertake to put his Government, on a purely commercial question, against the opinions of many other gentlemen who are to be found in the country; and when I tell him that the very ablest men—I am not speaking of gentlemen connected with the late Government or having political sympathies with it—who have shown by their successful commercial enterprises, and by their great financial ability, they have been able to acquire vast fortunes for themselves, thus giving the best evidence to the country

Appendix

of their ability to judge on commercial questions—were most eager to obtain acts of incorporation to enable them to undertake the construction of this work on the terms proposed, when I state that, I shall give the House better evidence than any opinion of the First Minister, that the scheme was not a bad scheme, that there was no insanity in the proceeding, and that in fact it was one which at that time and in the light of information then obtained in this country upon this subject, was regarded by the first commercial minds of Canada as an eminently practical scheme. When I give the names of the Honourable Mr. MacMaster and the Honourable David Christie and also the present Honourable Minister of Customs, who shows himself possessed of financial ability as far as investing money and the transaction of business goes, I give, Honourable Gentlemen, the best evidence that it was not a wild visionary scheme, but that it was a practical scheme which commended itself to the judgments of those best able to form an opinion in relation to it. What were the consequences to the late Government? Was this proposition to give fifty million acres of land and thirty million dollars in money regarded as utterly inadequate? No; the late Government was destroyed in a desperate struggle between the first commercial men of all parties in Canada to obtain possession of the Charter on the terms. I do not require to occupy the time longer to show that we were not open to the charge of proposing anything visionary or illusionary. It was a solid substantial project which, if carried out, would have accomplished untold benefits to the country. Honourable Gentlemen opposite will all admit that the greatest boon which could be conferred upon Canada would be the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway upon those terms. They were all agreed upon that. We are all agreed upon the desirability of this

Sir Charles Tupper

work, which would be of such immense advantage to Canada, being secured under the terms which Parliament was induced to grant for that purpose. The scheme was defeated. I am afraid if I were to go into that branch of the question I should be doing what I said I would not do, namely, that I would not say anything that could be understood as directed by party feelings or political sentiment, and that I would not for a single moment divert the attention of the House from the question under consideration. But I believe that time will come, if it has not already come, when it will be regarded as the greatest misfortune the country ever suffered that that scheme was defeated, and that Honourable Gentlemen should have—I am afraid I must say in the interest of party—adopted measures to defeat it, which not only prevented its accomplishment by those who had then undertaken to deal with the work, but had thrown almost insuperable obstacles in the way of their successors or any other Government. However, it was done rightly or wrongly, justly or unjustly. The late Government were defeated, and Honourable Gentlemen opposite were charged with the important duty of governing the country, and one of the greatest and most important duties that devolved upon them was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I am bound to say that it is deeply to be lamented that party considerations ever entered into this question. It is a question so gigantic in its proportions, and of such enormous interest, and importance to the country, that it demanded then, as it demands now, that party considerations should be left entirely in abeyance; and that men of all parties and of all classes should unite, and endeavour to assist, whoever may be the Government of the day, in any wise or judicious measures that are calculated to accomplish the object. I may not be able to look dispassionately

Appendix

upon questions in which the Government are concerned, but, as far as I am able to do so, it is my desire, as it ought to be of every hon. member of this House and every patriotic man of whatever party, to assist any Government in carrying forward any wise or judicious measures, by which a work so important may become accomplished. And now came the great test of finding out whether hon. gentlemen in power carried out the views they held when in Opposition. Hon. gentlemen were called upon to deal with this question, and I am bound to say, that they have not maintained in power the principles they professed when they sat upon the Opposition benches. I have shown that the Hon. Mr. Dorion moved a resolution on the matter, and that the House was unanimous upon the question as to how the road was to be constructed. But not satisfied with the clear, unqualified declaration that the road was not to be built by the Dominion Government, he wanted to add a "rider" to declare "and not otherwise" so as to make it impossible for the road to be built except by a private company, aided by a grant of land and money from the Government. I think the hon. member for Chateauguay seconded that resolution; but, at all events, I am able to say that the gentlemen sustaining the present First Minister voted a solid and unanimous vote with Mr. Dorion in reference to that question. This gave to the country the most unqualified and solemn pledge that public men can give to a people, that if they obtained power they would carry out the policy to which they had thus committed themselves. The hon. gentleman now at the head of the Government was called upon to form an Administration, and he had to present himself before his constituents. The late Government had, before that, appealed to the country, and their policy had been sustained. The hon. gentleman when he went before his constituents, without any

Sir Charles Tupper

sanction from the members of the House, without Parliament having been consulted, constructed a new platform and declared his intention of building the road as a Government road. The reason he adduces was that the profits which go to the contractors under the original scheme would go to the people. I will read the words of the hon. gentleman from the organ of the Government, and an organ which the hon. gentleman will hardly be able to repudiate, because upon the testimony of an hon. member of this House, it was an organ to which he had himself contributed a very large sum of money, in order to turn it over from an Opposition paper into an organ of the Government. I refer to "The Times" of this city, which reported the hon. gentleman as follows:—

"It will be the duty, as I think it will be the desire of the Government, to develop any plan by which these results are to be accomplished. . . . Any profit, Sir, that would have come to the share of the company will ultimately fall, under our scheme, to the share of the country. . . . It may be necessary for us to let the work out in contracts, under our own superintendence, but, at any rate, we shall take care that our attention is given to the interests and money of the country."

True to the course the hon. gentleman stated there, he introduced a Bill providing for the construction of this work by the Government, giving the Government power to deal with the whole of this work from end to end as a Government work. The hon. gentleman says that measure passed the House unanimously. He is hardly candid, Sir, in making such a statement to this House, if he means the House and the country to believe that it met the concurrence of all the members of this House. He must remember, or, if matters of too great importance have rendered him forgetful of it, I remember that the Bill was rushed through this House

Appendix

at a late hour of the night, the Government refusing, when the Opposition entreated the hon. gentleman to give them more time, to delay it and give time for further consideration. He knows that under the Saxby gale, under the great tidal wave of political excitement which swept over the country in 1874, the Opposition were under great disadvantage ; he knows that we were taunted, as, happily we cannot be taunted now, with being a corporal's guard, and I admit that we were not strong enough to protect the interests of the country as an Opposition is bound to protect them, and as, I am happy to say, we are able to protect them in this House to-day. When the hon. gentleman says, however, it was unanimous, he makes the statement in face of the fact that I myself spoke in my place in the House—spoke much longer, no doubt, than was pleasant to the hon. gentleman and many of his supporters—against the enactment of that measure, and declared that I regarded the undertaking to build this Canadian Pacific Railway by the Government, apart from the policy previously sanctioned by Parliament and the people, as one which could not commend itself to the House, and would be fraught, I was afraid, with disastrous results to the country. There was, at all events, a very strong feeling on the part of the Opposition that the hon. gentleman was taking a step from which he was precluded by his past policy and pledged action in the House, and which, in our judgment, at all events, the public interests did not sanction. But the hon. gentleman also superadded to that the Georgian Bay branch. Let me say a single word in reference to that measure. It is known that I strenuously opposed in this House the proposal for the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch. Why did I oppose it ? It was because I regarded the abandonment of the policy of securing at an early date the construction of a direct line of railway

Sir Charles Tupper

from Nipissing to the great prairies of the North-West, as a great misfortune for the people of this country. I regarded carrying a line of railway to a lake which would be frozen six or seven months in the year as involving a large expenditure without the country ever receiving any commensurate advantage. I did not oppose it on its own merits, but in contrast for that route for which I felt the valley of the Ottawa had been intended by nature. If anyone looks at the configuration of this continent, if anyone looks at the position of this Dominion to-day, if anyone will regard the four millions of Canadians who are settled in this portion of the country, and the great fertile prairies of the North-West that would require the construction of, perhaps, a thousand miles of railway to bring us in connection with them, he must feel that we are throwing away perhaps one of the greatest possible advantages to be derived from the construction of this great national highway, if we adopt any expedient by which we should relegate to the remote future completion of a direct line of railway to the valley of the Ottawa, bringing us the products of the North-West, inhabited, as it would be at no distant date, by millions of intelligent, thrifty, industrious people. But the hon. gentleman felt, Sir, that the construction of the Georgian Bay branch was a matter of such vital necessity that we could not afford to wait a moment, that, notwithstanding his pledges and all his declarations that parliamentary government required that every appropriation of public money should be first sanctioned by Parliament, he must take *carte blanche* to construct that work without the formality of submitting the contract to Parliament, and he obtained the sanction of his supporters to carry it on in that way, and a large sum of money was placed at his disposal to carry out that policy. And, Sir, his policy embraced the subsidizing of lines of railway both

Appendix

in Ontario and Quebec. A good deal of controversy has arisen as to what he meant by his declaration in his manifesto that he purposes to subsidize lines of railway in Ontario and Quebec to connect the Georgian Bay branch with the system here. We all know now that the subsidy to the Canada Central is the prominent feature in connection with that policy, but I took the opportunity of asking the hon. gentleman when making his statement in 1874—he was good enough to allow me to interrupt him by asking: “Are you to subsidize one branch or two branches?” Are you to connect with the railways from Toronto as well as with the railways in this section of the country? and his answer was “Two branches.” So whatever policy he may have adopted afterwards, his policy then was to give subsidies to connect with the Toronto system, as well as with the Ottawa system of railways. I only make allusion to that in passing. But, as I have stated, the matter of the Georgian Bay branch was considered so pressing and of such vital interest that the hon. gentleman took power to exempt the contract made in regard to it from the control of this House. The hon. gentleman has also undertaken the construction of a railway from Thunder Bay to Red River. I hold that that was a contravention of the Act, and I will tell the hon. gentleman briefly why. The Act for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway provided that it should be divided into four sections. The Act read:—

“The whole line of the said railway, for the purposes of its construction, shall be divided into four parts; the first section to begin at a point near to and south of Lake Nipissing, and to extend toward the upper or western end of Lake Superior, to a point where it shall intersect the second section hereinafter mentioned.”

Now, where is that point? The hon. gentleman told

Sir Charles Tupper

us yesterday—he did not require to do so, because Mr. Fleming, in his report, has pointed it out, as will be seen by reference to the 55th page—that it is not the intention that the commencement of a line at Thunder Bay shall be any other than a branch. Mr. Fleming says :—

“ A practical route, without excessively heavy works, is reported, establishing the fact that the trunk line from the prairie to the eastern terminus in Ontario may, in the future, be carried in a direct course, without making a detour to Thunder Bay. The line now under construction to Fort William will then constitute a short branch from the main line to the navigation of Lake Superior.”

The hon. gentleman provided by his Act for the construction of two branches—the Georgian Bay branch and the Pembina branch. That was all ; the rest were to be the four sections, and in the Act it is declared that the first section shall run to the point where it intersects the second section running on to Red River. The hon. gentleman told us this would be a branch from Thunder Bay of twenty-five or thirty miles. Those who have looked at Mr. Fleming’s map will see that if anything is to be judged from the configuration of the country from the line traced there, that it would be near sixty or seventy miles, certainly much nearer fifty miles than twenty-five or thirty. I hold, therefore, that the hon. gentleman, in departing from the policy to which he was committed by his speech introducing this subject, in which he spoke of Nepigon as the particular point of intersection, has made a mistake, and that the construction of that branch is without authority and that there is no appropriation of public money which can be legally used for that purpose. The hon. gentleman admitted himself

Appendix

yesterday that the bay where the trunk line would approach Lake Superior near Nepigon Bay would be easier of access than Sault Ste. Marie, from the objective point, than Thunder Bay. We all know that very elaborate evidence was submitted in the report of the Chief Engineer to establish the fact that there is no point except Nepigon Bay which would have been equally beneficial to the country, and avoided altogether the construction of this branch, or any detour to run in that direction. Therefore, in that respect, the hon. gentleman has acted without law and constructed what has been done without appropriation from Parliament. But I now come to a much more important feature of the policy of the hon. gentleman from any which I have yet criticized—the terms made with the hon. gentleman with Lord Carnarvon—the solemn treaty entered into between the Province of British Columbia and binding the Government also to the Imperial Government. I have shown that every step taken by the House, up to the change of Government, was taken under the guard provided in the resolution—that the road should be constructed by a private company, aided by grants of land and money; and all obligations we had incurred in relation to British Columbia or the Imperial Government, or anybody else were all limited by the open and avowed policy declared by that resolution. I may say that the effect of that resolution could not be better illustrated than by the fact the hon. gentleman himself, when he found it necessary in his own defence to quote that resolution, quoted it as an unanswerable argument to British Columbia. I will now refer to a Minute of Council passed December 20th, 1875, which says:—

“ It must be borne in mind that every step in the negotiations must necessarily be predicated upon and subject to the conditions of the resolution of the House

Sir Charles Tupper

of Commons passed in 1871, contemporaneously with the adoption of the Terms of Union with British Columbia, subsequently enacted in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1872, and subsequently enacted, after a large addition had been made to the rate of taxation, in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874; that the public aid given to secure the accomplishment of this undertaking should consist of such 'liberal grants of land, and such subsidies in money or other aid, not increasing the then rate of taxation, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine.' "

One of the complaints made against the hon. the First Minister is that he is inclined to be an autocrat. One of the complaints is that while quoting the sweet voices of the people he spoke of the necessity of a Minister having the authority of Parliament and the sanction of the people for every important act in which they were engaged, but that no sooner did he get the high position which he now fills than he seemed to throw up all parliamentary restraint, and to regard his own *ipse dixit* and the opinions of the Ministry with which he associated as the only power to be recognized, or the only one to which he required to pay any attention. The hon. gentleman made an engagement which will only occupy a moment in reading, and which will be found extended at length at page 511, Hansard, 1875. This engagement was made in November, 1876, during the recess of Parliament, after the Session in which he obtained power to deal with the whole question as a Government work, taking it entirely out of the category of a private enterprise. But still we had, as the hon. gentleman admits, re-enacted the clause providing that the work should not be proceeded with any faster than could be done without increasing the existing rate of taxation. I myself have a strong opinion as to the extent to which that resolution was qualified by the

Appendix

clause the hon. gentleman caused to be inserted in the Act of 1874, and where the terms of the resolution itself was departed from by taking power to construct the railway as a Government work which the resolution required could only be done by a private company. The hon. gentleman engaged to expend two millions per annum in British Columbia and to commence the railway the moment that the surveys were completed, and if the hon. gentleman has determined to spend another year in additional surveys, and surveys with reference to points as far as the location of the route is concerned, which I stated yesterday, appear to me to be uncalled for—some little consolation for that state of things may, perhaps, be found in the fact that he was bound under those terms, and is bound under those terms, to expend two millions per annum on the road immediately on the completion of the surveys in British Columbia, and it was just possible, in the existing state of things, that the hon. gentleman does not feel himself quite prepared to engage in the expenditure of two millions per annum in British Columbia in the present condition of public affairs. These terms, which are of a very extraordinary character, are detailed substantially as follows :—

“ Lastly, that on or before the 31st of December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the west end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters.”

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman, as I have stated, first took power to construct this work directly by the Government and then made a solemn binding treaty with British Columbia and the Imperial Government that by 1890 this work should be constructed and com-

Sir Charles Tupper

pleted from the Pacific Coast to the shores of Lake Superior. What is the distance between these points ? It is something like, according to the Chief Engineer's statement, 2022 miles, over which the road was to be built ; and the hon. gentleman made this engagement without the slightest qualification or the slightest provision that it was not to increase the existing rate of taxation. He made a binding, solemn treaty and the good faith of the Government of this country was pledged as far as a Minister—and the Minister has power to pledge it to a great extent—could pledge it without consultation with the House ; and without the knowledge of the House, the hon. gentleman entered into this engagement. In inviting his attention to it I would like to ask him whether the Act of the late Government in engaging to subsidize with thirty millions of money and fifty million acres of land a company to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway was a madder scheme, or a more insane scheme, or a scheme exhibiting greater incapacity than was this scheme proposed by the hon. gentleman holding the views which he did in reference to the character of that work as stated by himself. Sir, over his own signature previous to the appeal made to the people he published a manifesto containing the views and opinions of the Government in relation to this matter and giving his opinion as to the cost of this work. He stated, Sir, in that manifesto, in January, 1874, his views in reference to this work at some considerable length :—

“ In the meantime, with a view to obtain a speedy means of communication across the continent, and to facilitate the construction of the railway itself, it will be our policy to utilize the enormous stretches of magnificent water communication which lie between a point not far from the Rocky Mountains and Fort Garry, and between Lake Superior and French River

Appendix

on the Georgian Bay, thus avoiding for the present the construction of about 1300 miles of railway, estimated to cost from sixty to eighty millions of dollars and rendering the resources of the country available for the prosecution of those links.”

Now, Sir, in this statement, and I shall draw the attention of the House to it by and by, the hon. gentleman estimated the saving of the six hundred miles between Nipissing and Nepigon, and between Red river and the remaining seven hundred miles westward—because these were the water stretches and the only water stretches he covered in his manifesto—he estimated that 1300 miles of railway, seven hundred miles of it through the prairie region, at from sixty million dollars to eighty million dollars. That 1300 miles of this road, and that not the most unfavourable portion of it, more than half being prairie country, was going to cost between sixty and eighty millions of dollars; and in the face of that declaration, which I presume he would not make without having gone into some calculations with reference to it, the lowest calculation involving an enormous expenditure of money, this engagement was made by the hon. gentleman without any reserve, and without the slightest qualification as to whether the resources of the country would admit of it. Now as we stood up to that period, we had a safety-valve and a clause exempting the country from being plunged headlong into a ruinous expenditure, but this was all swept away by the hon. gentleman who presented himself to this House with the declaration that this was a binding treaty which he had made, not only with a portion of ourselves, with our fellow citizens in British Columbia, but also with the Imperial Government, which was solemnly called on to take part in the negotiations affecting that arrangement. Now, Sir, I would draw the attention of the

Sir Charles Tupper

House for one moment to this question as one of great importance, because it has involved the most serious charge against the hon. gentleman and his Government that was ever made, or that ever could be made against any Government; it has involved the charge of bad faith. I hold, Sir, that serious as were the financial arrangements and great as were the pecuniary difficulties with which he surrounded his question, that by this arrangement, even that sank into insignificance compared with the question of having the good faith of the Government of Canada challenged, not only by the Province, and the important Province of British Columbia, a portion of ourselves, but also, Sir, broadcast throughout the world, through Great Britain and wherever the name of Canada was known. Up to that hour, Sir, no spot, no stain, could rest upon the reputation of the Government of Canada with relation to any engagement that it had ever made; but, I say that the charge of bad faith was brought against, and has been sustained against, the hon. gentleman, by arguments and by evidence so conclusive as to involve great trouble and great difficulty, I am afraid, on his part, in order to extricate himself from it; and as, Sir, there is no advantage to be gained in concealing from ourselves the true nature of the case, and as it is the painful duty of the surgeon, occasionally, as the first step towards the cure, to probe a wound to the very bottom, I feel myself called upon, for a few moments, to touch upon and examine that most important feature of this question. I may be told that I have had my answers, and that, too, from a very high quarter,—that His Excellency the Governor-General, who has the best and most intimate means of judging of Ministers, has, in distinct and unqualified terms, exonerated at all events the Prime Minister from any charge of bad faith in relation to this matter. I cannot

Appendix

allow that, Sir, to prevent me dealing with the subject, but I shall touch on that point as delicately as possible, as I feel that the distinguished gentleman who rightly enjoys the confidence of the people of this country as few Governors-General have done before, that men of all parties, and men of all classes recognize in him a gentleman who has devoted himself, heart and soul, to the best interests of Canada ; and because no person will question his entire honesty in making the statement, which he did in reference to this matter. I will not discuss the question, Sir, of its constitutionality ; but I say that it is one of the most serious charges against this Government, that they should render it necessary for the representative of the Crown to come down from the exalted position he holds, and take part in the discussion of political questions that agitate the country. Now, Sir, I say that the evidences of the breach of faith that have been raised on the part of the people of British Columbia, have not, in my judgment, been raised without a good deal of foundation. It will be remembered that the hon. gentleman who is now Minister of Justice, then occupied an independent position in this House and a very independent position at the moment, put a question on the notice paper. It was a very serious question, and it appears in the Votes and Proceedings of the 4th March, 1875 :—

“ Mr. Blake—on Monday next—Enquiry of Ministry. Whether the Government intend to propose to Parliament any measure on the subject of the readjustment of the Terms of Union with British Columbia ? ”

Now, Sir, it is known that the hon. gentleman had, in addition to engaging to construct this railway, the 2000 miles of railway which the Government had power to build as a Government work, and which, by the period of 1890, he was to have completed, also engaged

Sir Charles Tupper

to add to that, outside of this work altogether, the construction of the road from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, sixty-eight miles of additional road. The Minister of Justice put this significant question on the notice paper, and what was his answer? The answer was given in the true spirit of the autocrat. The hon. gentleman said, but at the time, I suppose, he felt stronger than he did afterwards :—

“With respect to the question raised by my hon. friend from South Bruce, I may say I have nothing to ask from Parliament. We have no authority to obtain, but have merely to communicate this decision and rely upon the House supporting us in accepting the terms that have been made through the intervention or intermediation of Lord Carnarvon, and that support, I do not doubt, will be cheerfully accorded.”

So the hon. gentleman had made an unqualified engagement with British Columbia and with the Imperial Parliament, to spend \$2,000,000 per annum in British Columbia—build sixty-eight miles of railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, and finish the line from the Pacific to Lake Superior, 2000 miles, by 1890. Yet his answer was that, from Parliament he had nothing to ask. But he altered his mind. Some significant divisions took place in the House. The present Minister of Justice, then sitting on the independent benches, voted against the hon. gentleman on the Bill for the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway; and on a most important question, in which the legality of the proceedings of the Government in reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway was involved, the hon. gentleman put on his hat and walked out of the House, accompanied by another gentleman, whose assistance the Government felt it necessary since to obtain on the Treasury benches, as Minister of the Interior. The hon. gentle-

Appendix

man had, before the session was far advanced, some pretty strong hints that the position he had assumed, in which he undertook to deal with the most important financial interests of this country, and involving the most onerous obligations—obligations to which anything undertaken by the late Government seemed insignificant—was such that he was not as strong in the support of the House as he had led himself to believe. What occurred? The Bill was passed by this House by a large majority. This Bill provided for building the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway in addition to the rest of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I may be told that we contemplated building a road on Vancouver Island. We did. We had fixed upon a terminus at Esquimalt, but every person knows that that did not involve the additional cost of a dollar, as far as the financial resources of the country were concerned. The stipulation required that the parties obtaining the charter of the Pacific Railway should build this road, the subsidy to be the same as far as money was concerned. But the hon. gentleman changed his base. He, who to-day had nothing to ask from Parliament, to-morrow found it convenient to introduce a Bill for the purpose of constructing the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. He passed this Bill through the House despite the opposition of the present Minister of Justice and other leading members of the Opposition. The Bill was lost, however, and significantly lost in the Upper House by the votes of two of the warmest and strongest friends the hon. gentleman had in that branch of the Legislature. I am not going to say that it was lost at the instance of the First Minister, but I may say that his colleagues in the Upper House did not exhibit great enthusiasm in trying to obtain a majority. But the Bill, having passed by a considerable majority, was abandoned. This was a case in which the hon.

Sir Charles Tupper

gentleman could say : “ The good faith of Canada is pledged ; we are bound to the British Columbian and Imperial Governments to carry this out ; I ask you to re-affirm the policy.” The hon. gentleman could have used those powers of moral suasion which are always in the power of a leader of the Government. But no ! He abandoned his policy, and an extraordinary occurrence presented itself. The hon. gentleman who was most hostile to the construction of this branch was taken into the Cabinet, as the result of the bargain was that the road should be sacrificed. That statement may seem a strong one, but I will sustain it by a speech delivered by the hon. Minister of Justice himself at Walkerton, in which he said that he would not enter the Cabinet until the Government had made up their minds to abandon their policy in this respect. The hon. gentleman said, as reported in the “Globe” :—

“ He would now touch upon a question with respect to which he had not been in entire accordance with the gentleman who was conducting the affairs of the country. He referred to the settlement attempted to be made through the Earl of Carnarvon with British Columbia. He had been of opinion that that settlement was more onerous to the country than it was advantageous to agree to, and he was happy to be able to say that, previous to his accepting office, discussions had been entered upon which had resulted in an agreement upon a policy satisfactory to himself. He would not tell them they might hope for as satisfactory a settlement of the dreadful burden imposed upon them by their predecessors as they would like, but he had every reason to hope that matters would be placed in a more satisfactory position than at one time they could expect they would be.”

And what was that policy proposed by the present Minister of Justice ? It was to dip their hands into the

Appendix

public treasury of Canada and hand \$750,000 over to the people of British Columbia for local works. The hon. gentleman seemed to think that all that was necessary in case of any embarrassment was that such a sum of money should be paid as might meet the emergency. But the hon. the First Minister, who had thus abandoned his policy, said to the people of British Columbia that he was defeated in the Senate, and that the Government were reluctantly compelled to abandon the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway. My right hon. friend from Kingston and myself supported the Government in that proposition, and we voted for the second reading of the Bill. But when the hon. gentleman refused to agree that the contracts should be submitted to Parliament, we voted against the third reading, and our friends in the Upper House voted entirely in harmony with us. The great substantial element of the policy of the Government, as arranged with Lord Carnarvon, regarding the construction of the Pacific Railway, was still left intact. Although the Government were not going to build the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, they were to carry out the rest of the terms as to the Pacific Railway. The terms were onerous. I am not surprised that the hon. gentleman began to be alarmed. The hon. gentleman who had said that all the resources of the British Empire could not build the Pacific Railway in ten years had agreed to build 2022 miles, from the head of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean in thirteen years from this time, that is, by 1890.

Mr. Cauchon.—That is three years more.

Mr. Holton.—The question is whether it would be easier to do the work by 1890 or by 1881.

Mr. Tupper.—I say this: that the obligation on the part of Canada to give certain aid to a Company which would find the capital to build the railway, and although

Sir Charles Tupper

the engagement was to finish it in ten years, yet, as has been shown by Mr. Trutch, if it could not be done in the ten years, the time would have been extended, provided honest, straightforward, and conscientious efforts were made to fulfil the obligation the Government incurred, that obligation was vastly superior, as none knew better than the hon. member for Chateauguay, than that the Government should proceed with the road as a Government work, taking every dollar required from the public exchequer, and by a loan and debt placed on the shoulders of the country build it by 1890. There is no comparison between the extent of obligation incurred in the two cases.

Mr. Holton.—The two points are quite distinct. The relative advantages of the two modes of constructing the road, and the possibility of building the road within a given time. The latter was the point to which the hon. member was addressing himself when I ventured to throw across the floor the slight interruption. I say that, whereas, he agreed to finish the road by 1881, my hon. friend the First Minister proposed to build, not the whole, but a considerable portion of the line by 1890, and the hon. member for Cumberland was denouncing him for undertaking an impossible task.

Mr. Tupper.—The hon. member for Chateauguay will see this—and he will see it very readily—that the essence of the objection was, there being a time bargain in the first instance. We were told by the delegates that they would not hold us to the ten or twelve years, but that we might have whatever time would reasonably be required in the construction of the work. But the great assault made was that it was a time bargain, although it was made with a portion of ourselves. But here is a bargain to which the Imperial Government became parties, made after hon. gentlemen have had further time for consideration, made to construct that

Appendix

portion of the line which will involve the longest time, viz. through the Cascade Range and Rocky Mountains, made without any qualification as to whether the resources of the country will permit it.

Mr. Holton.—Were the Imperial Government parties to the original engagements? Was it not in the address which formed the basis of union?

Mr. Tupper.—The Imperial Government were parties, in so far as they were willing—for that was all they had to do—that British Columbia and Canada should unite on the terms we had mutually agreed upon. Here is a case in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies had come to accept the position of arbitrator in the carrying out of the agreement made between Canada and British Columbia, to which the Imperial Government were parties.

Mr. Holton.—Was not the ground of that interference of the Imperial Government that they were parties to the original agreement made by hon. gentlemen opposite?

Mr. Tupper.—The colony of British Columbia felt they were entitled to go to the Imperial Government to complain in regard to any violation by Canada of the terms mutually agreed upon. The main feature of the policy was still left, all except the railway on Vancouver Island. Did the Government maintain good faith as to that? The First Minister came to Parliament and proposed a vote—a moderate vote—to carry on works connected with the railway. What happened? If hon. gentlemen would turn to Hansard for 1876, they will find the record of a very extraordinary procedure. They will find that the hon. First Minister, having become wise in his generation, found that he had committed himself to this unqualified engagement—a point not noticed by many members of the Opposition on the inception of the matter—that

Sir Charles Tupper

his solemn pledge was unrelieved by any action of the Senate, the pledge to construct the road from the shores of the Pacific to the shores of Lake Superior, over two thousand miles, by 1890. What happened when that item came up for the construction of the railway? What did the hon. member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross) do? That hon. member is not a very recalcitrant supporter of the hon. the First Minister. I will not say he is not an independent member, but among the hon. gentleman's followers he has none more devoted than the hon. member for West Middlesex; there is no hon. member who will make a greater effort to act in accord with the First Minister, and, I believe, the hon. gentleman on more than one occasion showed the hon. the First Minister that he was prepared to make a sacrifice in order to meet his views. What did the hon. member for West Middlesex do? He moved a vote of want of confidence in the Government. We had been voting them the Supplies. We, like a loyal Opposition, had been endeavouring, as far as possible, to promote the interests of the country; but submitting to the fact that we were a minority, and must accept the general policy of the Government, and on many occasions vote them larger sums than we thought necessary in the interests of the country, or, demanded by the necessity of the case. We recognized the obligation to assist the Government in carrying the Supply Bill. The hon. member for Middlesex, however, moved a vote of want of confidence, refusing to vote one dollar for the construction of the railway until the House had adopted the motion, which was in these terms:—

“But while granting this sum, this House desires to record its view that the arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall be such as the resources of the country will permit, without increasing the existing rates of taxation.”

Appendix

The moment that resolution was moved, the hon. the First Minister was bound to rise in his place and state that he would sacrifice his position as First Minister before he would accept it, because it involved an act of bad faith, he had made a binding obligation with the Imperial Government and British Columbia, that a certain work should be constructed in a certain time. It was impossible to proceed with the work at all if the resolution were passed. I can show the House that the Government of the day are, in the face of that resolution, violating the Constitution by spending one dollar in connection with the railway. What was the state of things when the resolution was passed? It was this: Three millions of additional taxes had been levied on the Canadian people as the hon. the Minister of Justice had stated in one of his speeches; that British Columbia had nothing to complain of, for Parliament had provided three millions of additional taxes for the purpose of constructing the road. The money was all gone, and to say that under these circumstances the Government should not be permitted to spend that vote until they had accepted that resolution, was to say that they should not spend another dollar in connection with the railway. The hon. the First Minister was bound to have thrown himself on the House, not on one side but on both sides, and to have said: "The good faith not of the Government alone, but of Canada, was pledged by the head of the Government to carry out the railway, and I call on the House to vote down the motion." It is said that the resolution was drafted by a Minister and offered by a Minister to another Government in this House a month before and he refused to move it, and that resolution, moved by the hon. member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross), was voted for by the Government and all their supporters; and when they did that, they placed themselves in the position from which I believe,

Sir Charles Tupper

with all their ability and special pleading, they will find it difficult to extricate themselves when arraigned by British Columbia or by the Colonial Minister, or any person in this country, on the serious charge of having been guilty of bad faith in relation to this matter.

(It being six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. Tupper resumed his speech. He said: When the House rose for recess I was dealing with the position in which the Government were placed by the resolution passed at the close of the last Session, and I had taken the ground that any expenditure made since the passage of that resolution by the Government was not only unconstitutional but illegal—that, in fact, they were bound by the resolution to stop at once any expenditure upon the Canadian Pacific Railway. The resolution which I read provided that the vote for the construction of the road should only be given to them under the obligation that no portion of it could be expended which would involve increasing the existing rate of taxation. Now, what was the position in which the hon. gentlemen found themselves placed the moment that resolution was placed upon the journals of this House? Three millions of new additional taxation had been imposed upon the people of Canada, and which was admitted by one of the hon. Ministers to be mainly for the purpose of constructing a railway. Parliament met, and the Government were obliged to admit, what the hon. the Minister of Finance has admitted, during the present Session, that he went to England to negotiate the late loan last autumn because it was known that a large deficit existed. Now the Government have admitted this Session that the deficit was about two million dollars, that the three million

Appendix

dollars of additional taxation which was imposed was all expended, and that that being done the ordinary expenditure of the country exceeded the whole revenue by one million nine hundred thousand dollars; and, as an examination of the figures shows, the hon. the Minister of Finance considerably understated the amount of the deficit which existed. The Government have asked the House to impose \$500,000 of additional taxation this year, in order to meet the expenditure of the year over the amount which the three million dollars of previous taxes had enabled them to meet. Under these circumstances, I want to know, if this resolution is not waste paper, what it means. I want to know how the Government can, without violating the principle of Parliamentary Government, expend a single dollar of public money for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad with the admission of the hon. the Finance Minister that the taxation of the country was increased, must be increased, and that additional taxes must be imposed in order to meet this expenditure—that he was unable to meet the existing cost upon the revenue without new taxation. I say they were completely prohibited and precluded from the expenditure of a single dollar without the violation of the constitution. I have another very great charge to make against the administration in relation to this work. Every person who has given the subject any attention knows that, regarded from what point of view you may, the moment you have declared the expediency of constructing the Pacific Railway, the moment you have gone the length that the hon. the First Minister has gone in admitting its absolute necessity, that moment you are bound to adopt every possible means in your power in order to promote the construction of that road. What means have the Government adopted? I shall show the House that

Sir Charles Tupper

from the moment they were placed in the responsible position they occupy they had steadily, persistently, and enormously exaggerated the cost of that work. And what would be the effect of that? The effect of exaggerating the cost would be to prevent any capitalists at home or abroad from investing a dollar, and to compel the Government of the country to find all the money required to be invested in the work. And if I can show the House, as I am confident that I can, that they have steadily exaggerated and done all that they possibly could, in the high positions which they occupy, to deter any person from assisting in the construction of that work, and damaged the financial position of the country by declaring that it had assumed an obligation to construct a work enormous in its cost and unproductive in its results, I think I will show that the Government had pursued a course the most inimical to the interests of the country that can be conceived. The hon. the First Minister gave a proper answer to a question which I put across the floor of the House last night. I asked the estimated cost of the Pacific Railway, and the hon. gentleman gave us some very interesting, and, I may frankly say, some encouraging statements as to the cost of the work. In order to draw out a statement which would be still more encouraging, I asked what the estimate was. His answer was judicious and proper. It was to the effect that in the position that he occupied, and in relation to the fact that they were about to ask for tenders at no distant day, it would perhaps be unwise for him to commit himself to a statement as to the expenditure it would involve. I regret that that wise and judicious policy was not always pursued by the hon. gentleman. I need not go back to the period of the General Election, when the country was made to ring with the most exaggerated statements of the cost of this work, and the intolerable,

Appendix

or to use the expressive language of the hon. the Minister of Justice since he became a member of the Government, the "dreadful burden" that was upon the country. The statements to the country have been precisely of that character, and, coming from persons in the position occupied by hon. gentlemen opposite, rendered it impossible to draw a dollar of money into the service of the country in connection with this work. Now the hon. the Minister of Public Works, in the most authentic manner, over his own signature, in a well and carefully considered manifesto at the General Election, estimated the cost of 1300 miles, of certainly not the most difficult portion, at from \$60,000,000 to \$80,000,000—no portion of this was in the Rocky Mountains of British Columbia. He stated, as I have said, that he proposed to avoid the construction of 1300 miles of this road, some 600 miles of it from Lake Nepigon and the remaining 700 along the water stretches of the Saskatchewan, saving to the country and avoiding for the present the construction of about 1300 miles of railway, which was estimated to cost from \$60,000,000 to \$80,000,000. Now, Sir, if 1300 miles of this road—and certainly not the most difficult portion of it, for we all recognized as being the great difficulty the line permeating the Cascade range and the Rocky Mountains—would cost from sixty to eighty millions of dollars, I would ask what estimate commercial men, intelligent men and capitalists, would form of the amount of money that would be required to construct this 2000 miles from the Pacific to Lake Superior. Well, Sir, we have that followed up by the statement, quite as authentic and on a financial question quite as weighty, published as we knew, broadcast, and sent to every part of the country, and not only here, but in Great Britain, by the Hon. Minister of Finance. Some comment, I believe, Sir, has been made with

Sir Charles Tupper

reference to the expenditure involved in the publication of the Budget Speeches of the Minister of Finance; but, Sir, I do not intend to raise any question as to the propriety of a document so important as that being widely spread over the country, though I will ask, for what reason should you spend a great deal of money when you have a great work like the Canadian Pacific Railway in hand,—in sending abroad and in Great Britain a statement such as that which I am now going to read on this subject from the Budget Speech in 1874 of the Minister of Finance. He said, following up the authentic statement of the First Minister :—

“ In order rightly to understand the real nature and extent of the burden we would be required to take upon ourselves, it must be remembered that the lowest estimate for building this road to the Pacific is something over one hundred millions of dollars, and this too on a supposition that a very much longer time would be given for the construction.

“ I entertain no doubt that if it were incumbent upon us to push the line through within the time specified (if this were possible), the expense would be enormously increased, and that a moderate estimate would reach one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty millions of dollars. Every hon. gentleman who has had experience in these matters knows that the cost of construction of a work of this kind is largely enhanced if it be required to carry it to completion in a certain limited time. They well know, too, that there is a great difficulty in carrying such a work through an unprotected country, much of which, looking particularly at two sections of it, is a desert, at least for arable purposes.

“ Were we to undertake such a burden as this, I would simply say that our national debt in seven years would be, relatively to our population, just one-third greater than that with which the United States emerged

Appendix

from their great Civil War, and, if measured by the rate of interest required, it would be one-third greater than the huge national debt of England.”

Now, Sir, the First Minister stated in his manifesto to the country that he hoped, in connection with this work, to be able to attract an immense amount of immigration to the country, and every person who knows anything of this question, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, knows that one of the most important features in connection with it is the opportunity its construction would present of bringing a great mass of immigrants into this country; and how admirably are these words of the Finance Minister calculated to bring people into Canada when people throughout the world are told, from so high and so authentic a source as the Minister of Finance of the Government of Canada, that the debt of this country is to become greater than that of the United States when emerging from the Civil War, and one-third greater than that of England. In other words he goes on to say :—

“ That if we undertake to fulfil this project according to the letter of the law, the burden we would require to ask you to lay upon yourselves for this purpose alone would be equal to a new debt of \$750,000,000 sterling imposed on the people of England.”

He is determined, Sir, that they shall understand the enormous taxes they will have to pay if they venture to come into Canada. He continues :—

“ Having regard to population and the rates of interest we would respectively have to pay, for this is an important consideration, were it the pleasure of the House to decide that the Canadian Pacific Railway must be completed in that time, it must also be prepared to take into account the sums required to be

Sir Charles Tupper

borrowed for other public works, and to redeem certain portions of the public debt ; and, at a moderate estimate, over \$200,000,000 would be needed for all purposes. In other words, we would be compelled to go to the London market, practically open to us—as borrowers—for \$30,000,000 every year for seven successive years. There may be honourable gentlemen in this House who think we would be able to do this ; but if so, I envy them their faith in the future of the Dominion. Now, Sir, I say, that such a project, involving such a charge, is ludicrously absurd.”

Then, Sir, he returned to the subject, and he said :—

“ Now, Mr. Chairman, I spoke before the Recess at some length upon the extraordinary deficiency arising from the working of the Intercolonial Railway and the other railroads of the Dominion chiefly in the Maritime Provinces. The deficiencies arising from these sources are reported as likely to amount to the extraordinary sum of about a million and a quarter dollars. I desire to call the especial attention of the House to one point which must be clear to every hon. gentleman. These railways ran for the most part through a country which has been settled for the last fifty or sixty years. I cannot refer, of course, to the fact that these railroads entailed such an enormous expenditure, without its becoming apparent to the House that the cost of the maintenance of a railway nearly three thousand miles in length, and passing through a country which is almost entirely uninhabited, must be of necessity very much greater. For a very long time, even after the actual construction of this railway, an enormous charge must be levied upon this country in order to keep it in full working order and repair, and this fact must be steadily kept sight of in considering the real character of the project.”

So much, Sir, for the manner in which the Minister of Finance endorsed the statements of the First Minister ;

Appendix

of course, they are qualified to a certain extent by his speaking of the effect of the construction of that road within a certain time, but the hon. gentleman applied no such limitation to this estimate. He says the lowest estimate is one hundred millions, and yet, Sir, strange to say, these gentlemen—I will not say with madness or with recklessness, to use the strictly parliamentary expressions of the First Minister, because I wish to confine myself to extremely moderate terms in characterizing the acts of the hon. gentleman opposite; I will not use any of these terms, although having such an authority for them in connection with this subject, they naturally rise to one's lips; but I do say that these statements were not, in my judgment, calculated to promote the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, either by a company or by the Government. In the first place, they would be calculated, in the mind of every commercial man and capitalist abroad, to lead to the conclusion that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the maddest and most questionable measures that any Government or party ever engaged in; and in the second place, they would lead to the conclusion that the Government that were saddling a country with such a liability, and had undertaken to carry out such an obligation, would be in a position that would render their credit at no distant day a very doubtful matter. I have given you the statement over the signature of the First Minister and his manifesto to the country; and the endorsement of that by, and the statements of, the Minister of Finance. Then, Sir, we come to the introduction of the Act, and hon. gentlemen will remember—because the subject was too important rapidly to fade from recollection—that when the First Minister went, as he was bound to do, into a very exhaustive explanation of what the cost of this work would be, he drew his illustrations

Sir Charles Tupper

from a variety of sources, as to what railways cost in other places, and showed that railways running through a prairie country cost not less than \$48,000 a mile. He told us what the Intercolonial was costing, and he led the House and country to believe that, in his estimate of 1300 miles, costing from \$60,000,000 to \$80,000,000 he was not very far astray. He stated that the country must find all the money. That the project was so hopeless as a commercial undertaking that it was simple madness to look for any assistance from capitalists, and that the people of the country must make up their minds to bear the burden themselves, without any aid from capitalists. He favoured the House with an estimate of the working expenses. He showed that the life of an iron rail was only eight years, a steel rail, however, lasting some years longer. He undertook to show that when the road was in working order it was hopeless to expect anything like fair returns until millions of people were thrown into the North-West; and he estimated that there would be an annual deficit on the working expense of six million dollars. This was the view hon. gentlemen were putting forward to the country at the very time they were taking power to construct the whole of the road as a Government road, and making a solemn engagement to construct, in thirteen years from the present date, some two thousand miles, and that embracing some of the most difficult portions of the road. I am charging the Government with doing that which, if they could be justly charged with, certainly shows an amount of incapacity in dealing with this matter which was extraordinary. I say that the Government were bound to present it in the most favourable light to the country, especially if they had the most remote idea that the time would come when they would invite capitalists to tender for its construction. Last night,

Appendix

the hon. the First Minister gave us the information that 228 miles of the railway from Thunder Bay to English river, and from Selkirk to Keewatin, would be completed and fairly equipped with rolling stock at something like \$24,500 per mile, and that 65 miles from Pembina to Fort Garry had been graded at a cost of \$3,500 per mile, and that this latter amount was to be considered as something like a fair estimate of the prairie sections.

Mr. Mackenzie.—No, no.

Mr. Tupper.—I suppose then that the hon. gentleman intended to confine his estimate to completing the line from Fort Garry to Selkirk ?

Mr. Mackenzie.—Yes.

Mr. Tupper.—I understood the hon. gentleman to apply that estimate to the whole of the prairie section. But the country must be exceptionally favourable in that part of the route.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Of course it is.

Mr. Tupper.—But I am certain the House heard with pleasure the hon. gentleman state the amount of money which practical experience had shown a road could be constructed for, and I would like to ask him, in the light of the experience he has had, whether he is not prepared to revise his statement as to the "insanity" of building the road on a subsidy of \$30,000,000 and fifty million acres of the finest land on which the sun shines on any part of the world. (Hon. gentlemen : Oh, oh.) Yes, I say you can select by the Pacific Railway Act fifty million acres of the finest land in the world upon which the sun shines. Nothing on the face of the civilized world exceeds it in fertility, and as a grain and grazing country ; and I do not think that the hon. the First Minister will be prepared to controvert that statement. At Whitby, in the Riding of South Ontario, the hon. gentleman said we might as well offer

Sir Charles Tupper

ten dollars to build the road as thirty million dollars and fifty million acres of land. This was the language by an honourable gentleman whose every word was weighed, as he now seemed to appreciate. After spending three years in denouncing this undertaking, and exaggerating in every possible and conceivable manner the cost of this work, diminished as had been "the dreadful burden" by the interposition of the Minister of Justice, the finale was, that the hon. gentleman was, at the moment he was making the above remarks at Whitby, publishing a notice to capitalists and contractors to be prepared on the 1st January, 1877, to tender for the construction of this road. After undertaking the work as a Government work, and spending large amounts of money upon it as such, in constructing some of the least productive portions of the road, after having exhausted all the power the Government possessed, in pointing out the utter impossibility of any person touching this matter, without being involved in the most utter financial ruin, he caps the climax by adopting the policy of the late Government, publishing notices for tenders to contractors upon the basis of \$10,000 and twenty thousand acres of land per mile, or at the rate of \$27,000,000 and fifty million acres of land, and asks the amount they will take, in addition to that to build and own and operate the road. The hon. gentleman mentioned last night to the House, he took us into his confidence so far as to say, that there had not been much result obtained from that advertisement, that the capitalists of the world did not seem in a hurry to invest their money or their means in the construction of a Pacific Railway for Canada. Is it any wonder, after three years spent by this Government in exaggerating, as the hon. gentleman proved last night, in enormously exaggerating the cost that would be involved by

Appendix

the construction of this work, that when he comes back at last to the policy of his predecessors, the hon. the First Minister finds that what capitalists were eagerly prepared to engage in at a former period, they now shrink from touching. The statements of the hon. the Minister of Finance that this three thousand miles of unpeopled country, that two sections of this road are two great Saharas, two great deserts from which nothing is to be hoped, could not certainly be expected to cause a great rush of capitalists to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Government stand to-day charged before the people of Canada with having failed in their duty to the people in their dealing with this question after they had voluntarily assumed this obligation. Instead of saying : "The late Government engaged to give \$30,000,000 and fifty million acres of land to any capitalists who were prepared to construct this road ; we are prepared to do that, and to act in good faith, to go thus far but not beyond it," they maintain that it was incumbent upon them to assume that they must carry the work to completion, although they did it with public money and as a public work. I have already told the House that the Government have undertaken to do this under the Railway Act, providing that it should be constructed as under the Public Works Act. It is not to be done by commissioners but directly by the Minister of Public Works.

I now pass from the general question of the policy of the Government in relation to this matter to the course they have pursued in carrying out that policy. Before going further, I desire to remind the House that these gentlemen were not free to deal in the autocratic manner regardless of parliamentary control and popular opinions that they seem to have imagined, and that they certainly have practised. When they were seeking to obtain power, they gave the people of this country

Sir Charles Tupper

to understand the principles which would govern them after they attained power, and prominent among those principles was that which was stated by the Prime Minister in a speech delivered on the 5th July, 1872, in Montreal, the commercial capital of the Dominion. He said :—

“ The policy of the Liberal Party is to make the Parliamentary Government supreme, to place the Cabinet directly under the control of Parliament, to take from them all power to use any part of the people’s money without a direct vote for each service. I might point out, as an instance of the course the Liberal Party will pursue, that in Ontario, when the Reform Government came into power, they repealed a portion of the Act granting aid to railways, so that all grants had to receive a sanction of the House before a farthing could be paid.”

I could multiply instances in which the hon. gentleman pledged himself to the same principle and promised that if he was entrusted with the management of public affairs, “ Parliamentary Government should be supreme,” and that no public money should be touched without a direct vote for the purpose. Let us see how, in carrying the law out, the hon. gentleman has succeeded. I may say, further, that when he introduced the Act giving him power to construct this road in the Department of Public Works, as a Government work, the hon. gentleman renewed the pledge and told the House that, if they passed the Act—as will be seen by the report of his speech in the Toronto “Globe”—not a single cent of the people’s money should be expended except after a direct vote for the purpose. And, Sir, the House will remember that one of the leading features of the Act was, that no work should be performed on it except under contracts, and that these contracts must be given by public tender. I now

Appendix

come to a very unpleasant feature in connection with the administration of this great question, and that is to the purchase of steel rails ; and, I may say at once, that, consistently with what I stated, when I rose to-night that I would endeavour to avoid touching any question that would, in the least degree, lead the House away from the mode in which the Government had dealt with the question, I shall, on the present occasion, carefully abstain from touching anything in reference to this matter except the purely business features, as a transaction for which the House have a right to hold the Ministry directly responsible. Now, the hon. gentleman has brought down a statement of the cost of the steel rails which were purchased without a vote of a dollar being passed by this House. It has been said elsewhere that there was a vote, that before the money was paid a vote was taken. The hon. gentleman knows it is trifling with the intelligence of the country, and I believe I am correct in saying it has never been attempted so to trifle with the intelligence of Parliament as to draw a distinction between a binding contract being made by the Government of Canada, not subject to the vote of Parliament, and the money being paid. The fact that the tenders and the contracts were laid upon the table of the House before the money was paid does not touch the question at all. Had the contracts been made subject to the approval of Parliament, there might have been a difference ; but they were absolute, leaving no option to Parliament, without being charged with bad faith in not carrying out an arrangement made by the Government of Canada, and that is an alternative which I am sure the hon. gentleman would not say left it open to the House at all. The hon. gentleman, who had pledged himself that Parliamentary Government should be supreme ; that if we passed the Act not a cent should be spent

Sir Charles Tupper

without a vote, startled the House and the country by the statement that he had made contracts, binding contracts on the Government, for the purchase of 50,000 tons of steel rails. We have now ascertained something like the cost of the rails delivered in the country. The return shows the dates of the payments that were made and the charges that were made upon them. I have had the interest carefully calculated. I find, by the return brought down by the Government, that \$2,925,896 was paid for these rails, delivered in Canada including the cost of freight and the cost of inspection. The interest on that sum at 5 per cent would, of course, be \$146,294. And in the meantime at which that interest became payable—because those amounts of money were paid at different dates—but the meantime at which the whole interest became payable was the 5th November, 1875. So that from that moment we have been paying interest amounting at 5 per cent to \$146,294 per annum. On the 5th day of May, which will be here in a very few days, we will have a year and a half's interest accumulated, \$219,441. To show the price to which rails have since fallen—I may say that I was prepared to produce testimony of an authentic character on this question, and would have done so if it had been convenient to call the Committee on Public Accounts together—I speak on the authority of a gentleman well qualified to judge who had made a purchase of steel rails of the best quality, and had them delivered at Prescott Junction during the past year, at a cost of £7 15s. sterling—that is \$37·71 per ton. The freight from Montreal to Prescott I assume to be, and I am told it is within the mark, \$1·71. Deduct that and you have the cost of the best steel rails that can be made, and by parties who were ready to supply any quantity of rails upon the same terms, at about \$46·00 per ton, laid down in Montreal. Now

Appendix

the House will see that 50,000 tons of steel rails and fastenings, laid down in Montreal, cost us, according to the return laid upon the table of the House by the hon. the First Minister himself, \$2,925,896, and the price at which the same description of rails were laid down at Montreal, within the last six months, was \$36.00 per ton. The cost, therefore, of the 50,000 tons if purchased within the past six months, instead of when they were purchased in 1874, and paid for at a mean date of November 5th, 1875, and from which date we have been paying interest on the whole sum, would have been \$1,800,000 showing a dead loss on the cost of the rails compared with what the same quality could be purchased to-day of nearly a million dollars. Now, add to that the interest payable before they can be used and the dead loss to the country in relation to that transaction alone, will exceed one million and a half dollars. I do not, as I said before, intend to touch any question outside the purely business nature of this transaction, because I have abundant ground for the motion I am submitting to the House without introducing any collateral issue; but I must call attention to the fact that, in relation to a part of this purpose, no tenders appear to have been asked. I notice that five thousand tons were bought without tenders and the freight to Vancouver Island seems to have been arranged on the same private principle and not by tender. This bears on the point I am charging against the Government, that they have systematically violated the binding obligation of the law, and their own repeated pledges, that everything should be done by contract in relation to those works. The charge of \$223,884 for inland transportation must be a mistake, and for this reason: We are told by the Public Accounts, we have been told by the speech of the hon. the First Minister, that it cost \$15 per ton to convey the rails

Sir Charles Tupper

from Duluth to St. Boniface, near Fort Garry. The public documents on the table show that nearly thirteen thousand tons of rails have been deposited there, and the House will see at once that on that transaction, carrying these rails that portion of the distance by the Red River Transportation Company, must be something in the neighbourhood of \$200,000. I am told that was not done by public tender and contract. Now, Sir, what was the necessity of buying these rails at all? Why should they be purchased? What did the Government want with 50,000 tons of steel rails? We have in a public document laid on the table of the House a statement as to the condition in which the Pacific Railway works there at that date; and what do they show? Why, Sir, they show that the contract was made for the first section, from Fort William to Sunshine Creek, a distance of $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles—the line ran originally from Fort William to Shebandown, but it was afterwards altered—on April 3rd, 1875; nearly six months after the purchase of these 50,000 tons of steel rails was made, the first contract requiring their use was entered into; and, Sir, we are told that on January 1st, 1877, more than two years after this purchase was made, that $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles requiring 2295 tons of the 50,000 are used; and therefore that is all of these 50,000 tons of steel rails purchased at a cost of nearly \$3,000,000 involving an interest of over \$140,000 per annum, which, at the end of this period, these hon. gentleman, with all their anxiety—and I have no doubt that they have pressed these works forward, for they had reason to press them forward as far as it was possible to do so, for the purpose of getting these rails out of sight—yet, with all their efforts, all they have been able to accomplish has been to use 2295 tons of rails, and that, too, not on a portion of the Pacific Railway, but on a branch, unauthorized by

Appendix

Parliament, and built without the sanction of Parliament or the vote of Parliament. Also, on April 3rd, 1875, they made a contract, from Selkirk to Cross Lake, 77 miles ; and on June 7th, 1876, they made a contract from Sunshine Creek to English River, 80 miles more. As to both of these contracts, the first have the same date April 3rd, 1875, from Fort William to Sunshine Creek ; and April 3rd, from Selkirk to Cross Lake, 77 miles ; and on June 7th, 1876, with all the dispatch and every effort they could make, they were enabled to put 80 miles more under contract, from Sunshine Creek to English River ; and on January 9th, 1877, from Cross Lake to Keewatin, so that, at this moment, there are 226 miles under contract, 37 miles of which were put under contract this year, and 80 miles of it only on June 7th last ; yet, Sir, we have the purchase made, as I say, in November, 1874, of no less than three million dollars' worth of steel rails, or 50,000 tons. Now, Sir, I may be told,—but you have failed to credit us with 11,160 tons for the Intercolonial Railway—but I would like to know how they came on the Intercolonial Railway. I stand in the presence of Parliament and I am open to correction, and I ask the attention of my hon. friend from Chateauguay to the point which I am about to make, when I say that there is no graver violation of constitutional law—there is no graver violation of Parliamentary principle, than the appropriation of the public money, voted for one object, to another ; I am open to the correction of the House, if I am right or wrong in that statement, and I say that the Government that would dare to take public money voted for one purpose and apply it to another a thousand miles away from the place for which it was voted, and for which Parliament gave the vote, has violated the Constitution and ignored the fundamental principles of Parliamentary Government. I say that the power

Sir Charles Tupper

that Parliament has over the Government of the day, is that sound constitutional maxim which deprives the Government of the power of spending money unless they have the authority of the House for it. I say that grant the principle that you can take 11,000 tons of rails, bought for the Canadian Pacific Railway with a vote for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and take them away and put them to another purpose totally different, and I say that the Government can carry on the government of the country despite the power of Parliament, because it can use any vote for the Canadian Pacific Railway for the ordinary expenses of the country, or for the payment of their own salaries, or for anything of that kind—I am giving, perhaps, an extreme illustration, but it is because I want to draw the attention of the House to the matter. It appears that the First Minister, who claimed the confidence of the people over and above all men in this country, because he was going to carry out the principle of parliamentary government, has become totally oblivious of his duty to the House and his duty to the country in reference to the expenditure of public money. I ask the House if we have ever been asked to authorize a change of that appropriation? I ask the House if any authority was ever given by it to the Government to change a dollar of that appropriation for the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Intercolonial Railway? I am open to the correction, but I am not aware, and I do not believe, that the Government have ever considered it to be their duty to ask Parliament to grant any such authority. If it has not, then I say, Sir, that one of the gravest charges made in connection with this whole transaction, and which stands against these hon. gentlemen, is undertaking to so deal with public moneys for purposes for which it was never intended by Parliament and never voted. I wish also to draw the attention of the

Appendix

House to the fact that the hon. gentleman purchased these rails in a falling market. He may say: "I had no knowledge of that," but he cannot say that, because I have under my hand the advice given to him by a gentleman well conversant with these questions, and a gentleman in whom that hon. gentleman has great confidence in every possible way, of which he has given evidence to the House—I mean, Sir, the Superintendent of the Provincial Railways, Mr. Brydges—made a report to that hon. gentleman, and he used these very significant terms; and this was on October 31st, 1874, at the time when this subject was under consideration. He says in a letter addressed to Hon. A. Mackenzie, dated October 31st, 1874:—

"There is no doubt whatever, that at the close of 1873 and the beginning of 1874, the steel market in England was well known to be in a declining condition, and no prudent man would buy rails at that time unless he actually wanted them for immediate delivery."

Now, Sir, I do not, as I dare say the House knows, always regard that gentleman as a supreme authority. I believe this is pretty well understood; but, I do say, that it is not open to the hon. gentleman who leads the House to take that position, because he has confidence in him. He has shown it in every possible way that one man can show that he has confidence in an individual; and he knew that Mr. Brydges was conversant with this whole question, and he had under his hand that letter at the very time he was entering upon this purchase. Now, Sir, what answer does the hon. gentleman give to the House when he is charged with taking three millions of the public money without the authority of Parliament and without one dollar of it being voted and making a binding contract for its expenditure for 50,000 tons of steel rails, which, at the end of this long

Sir Charles Tupper

period of time, he admits himself it is impossible to apply, and he gives no prospect to the House of being able to use them for long years to come. I have shown the dates when these contracts, which are now under construction, were let, and you know the difficulty of going through a large portion of the country in question, and its remoteness from supplies ; and I have shown that with all the public money the Government could spend, and all the pressure the Government could bring to bear, as the Minister of Finance says, in an open and settled country, it has taken seven long years to accomplish the construction of the Intercolonial Railway ; and hon. gentlemen will see what time must elapse before it could be possible to use 50,000 tons of rails on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Why, Sir, the leader of the Ministerialists, a member of the Government in the Upper Branch, says they only expect to be able to get the road through from Thunder Bay to Red River in seven or eight years ; and the hon. the Finance Minister admitted last night, or, at all events, recently that it must be at least four or five years before that portion of the road can be made. And yet these rails are lying and rusting and deteriorating in value quite as much as if they were moderately used.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Oh, nonsense.

Mr. Tupper.—I may be wrong, and I am open to correction. But if it is nonsense, it is nonsense shared in by nearly all experts connected with railway matters in the world. This question of the oxidization of rails had attracted the attention of scientific men generally. It has attracted the attention of scientific men, who had devoted their whole life and great ability to the question of railways, and there was no more interesting question than this of the oxidization of rails. Some attributed the protection from oxidization to a certain amount of electrical action caused by the

Appendix

passage of the cars over the rails, others held that when the rails were piled up the wet accumulated and the rust was more rapid than otherwise. But the fact remained that rails deteriorated more rapidly when piled up than when moderately used.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Would the hon. gentleman name any of these experts ?

Mr. Tupper.—I did not suppose that a fact so generally known would be contravened. But I will undertake to look up for the hon. gentleman a very elaborate statement on the subject which I trust will satisfy him. I hear an honourable friend saying that : “ If the rust does not eat them up the interest will.”

Mr. Dymond.—Would the hon. gentleman be able to give us his authorities before he asks us to vote for his motion ?

Mr. Tupper.—I think I shall be able to convince, if not to convert, even such an incorrigible supporter of the other side as the hon. member for North York, without my being able to quote that specific authority upon that point ; and will give an opportunity to the hon. gentleman to show his independent position. The hon. gentleman says Mr. Fleming advised him. I have no hesitation in saying that I consider the authority of the Chief Engineer on a great many questions connected with such a work as quite sufficient to absolve the Minister of Public Works, whoever he may be, from any blame whatever. If the hon. gentleman can show one single line signed by Sandford Fleming to him stating that at a certain time a road would be in such a state of forwardness as to require a certain amount of rails, however mistaken Mr. Fleming may be, I will at once acquit the First Minister of any blame in the transaction, because he would give the House an authority which any reasonable man would be satisfied with. But I deny that Mr. Fleming is a special authority

Sir Charles Tupper

on this question. There are ten thousand men in this country just as able, and thousands of them more able, to advise the First Minister in relation to a purely commercial and business question, than Mr. Fleming, with all his engineering knowledge. If it was a question in which the hon. gentleman had required Mr. Fleming's professional knowledge, I should say his opinion was sufficient. But we have to remember that all the authority brought here from Mr. Fleming was furnished after the transaction was over. And this authority was given incidentally and verbally. This was only a paltry matter of 50,000 tons of rails, an insignificant matter of three million dollars, and it was not considered worth a sheet of paper to make a report upon. In passing, the First Minister asked Mr. Fleming verbally whether it would be a good thing to secure a large quantity of steel rails.

Mr. Mackenzie.—I never asked anything of the kind.

Mr. Tupper.—So much the worse. Then the hon. gentleman has no right to quote Mr. Fleming on the subject as an authority. But supposing Mr. Fleming had given him in writing the most elaborate report, which, however, he did not give, I question the propriety of the hon. gentleman procuring an *ex parte* statement for the purpose of justifying an action for which he himself was responsible. I do not presume to question the strict accuracy of every statement of Mr. Fleming's, but I claim that the Government ought not to require from a subordinate officer, however high his position, a justification of acts of which they were responsible themselves alone to Parliament, unless they show that prior to the Act they had some evidence in writing as to the necessity of the transaction. But who would suspect that the First Minister would have justified a transaction of this kind by quoting Mr. Fleming? I can show that he has no confidence in Mr. Fleming's

Appendix

judgment, even in a question where engineering entered largely in consideration. On a question on which he had devoted years of his life and had expended enormous sums of public money, the hon. the First Minister had treated the report of Mr. Fleming as unworthy of the paper on which it was written. A great deal of controversy had arisen in respect to the route of the Intercolonial Railway. Mr. Sandfield MacDonald's Government appointed Mr. Fleming to make an exhaustive survey for the purpose of locating the line of the Intercolonial Railway. That duty was vigorously discharged for years ; and afterwards Mr. Fleming was called upon to give his advice. He says on page 84, in a work published by the First Minister and paid for by the country, I presume :

“ When Mr. Fleming entered upon the survey in 1864, his instructions on this point were very plain. He was not called upon to select what he held to be the most eligible line ; indeed, as he read his instructions, he considered it to be his duty to withhold all indications of preference. His own opinions were, however, explicitly and directly expressed, when it became his duty to place them on record, in March, 1868, he was requested by the Government to report on the route he held to be the best. . . . The Chief Engineer, after examining the arguments advanced in favour of each route, placed on record his opinion that beyond a doubt the line by the Bay of Chaleurs was the route to be adopted.”

And yet, after that declaration, made in a way to carry all the weight of authority Mr. Fleming could throw into any document, the hon. the First Minister treated it then as he treats it now, as so much waste paper, and said that the Government were throwing \$8,000,000 into the sea in adopting the route that the Chief Engineer, after surveying five years and, when called

Sir Charles Tupper

upon to express his opinion, deliberately declared it was infinitely the best.

Mr. Mills.—It was your colleague Mr. Macdougall.

Mr. Tupper.—Mr. Macdougall was never my colleague. I had not that honour. If the honour of the originality of the expression is to be attributed to Mr. Macdougall he has been servilely copied by a good many hon. gentlemen opposite, with the fact before them that Mr. Fleming had made a report in the most authoritative manner in which it could be made, in favour of that route ; and this on a question on which his opinion was certainly entitled to respect. The hon. gentleman had not shown that he consulted any commercial men, though there were some of his friends engaged in the trade, whose disinterested advice, if taken, would have pointed to the fact, as I showed in the House when the transaction was first announced, that an enormous public loss was going to occur to the country in consequence of that ill-advised purchase. We have the fact that this country is to be saddled with that enormous burden, that the legacy, the monument which the hon. the First Minister would leave behind him, when I trust, at an early day, his monument as Prime Minister will be erected, would be that transaction by which not less than \$75,000 annually for ever out of the public purse was lost to the people. I ask the hon. member for North York (Mr. Dymond), unbelieving as he is, if that is not sufficient ground, without being able to give the authority of an expert, that rails become oxidized by lying on the ground unused, to warrant any independent member in saying that the hon. gentleman has violated the first principle of Parliamentary Government by expending that money without the authority of the House, and, owing to this ill-advised and unfortunate purchase, he has sunk over a million and a half of dollars of the people's

Appendix

money, never to be recovered, involving an annual charge of \$75,000 on the public treasury. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am glad to leave so unpleasant a subject, because I feel that I cannot deal with it, that I cannot discharge my duty to this House and the country temperately, as I am endeavouring to discharge it, without reflecting not only upon the hon. the First Minister, but upon the Parliament of Canada, and the people of this country. I will exculpate the people because, until they have the opportunity of passing their own verdict upon it, we must absolve them from blame, but this Parliament stands before the world and the people of this country as prepared to sustain a Prime Minister who forgets what he owes to Parliament, to his own public declarations and to the laws on the statute book in this transaction, independent of the enormous amount of pecuniary loss which has been entailed.

I now come to another matter in which the law has been violated in the most direct and glaring manner. I speak of the expenditure of money for the Canadian Pacific Railway telegraph. The law provided that a line of electric telegraph shall be constructed in advance of the said railway, and branches along the whole extent so soon as practicable after the location of the line should be determined upon. No law could be more easy of construction. It did not require an appeal to the Minister of Justice of the day, the predecessor of the present Minister (we know what his construction of the law would have been) it did not require a reference to any legal mind to say what the construction of that law was. It became my duty to bring this subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway telegraph before the House, when, in 1875, the hon. the Premier again, in his truly autocratic fashion, stated to the House that he had entered into contracts to the extent of over \$700,000

Sir Charles Tupper

for the construction of that telegraph line. I directed the attention of the House to the illegality of the proceedings; I challenged the propriety of this work being so carried out, and claimed that it could not be done under the law. My action was followed up by my late lamented friend, Mr. Hillyard Cameron, the member for Cardwell, who joined in that opinion, and the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Kirkpatrick) followed by moving a resolution condemning the Act as illegal, which was seconded, I think, by the hon. member for Cardwell. The House will remember the short discussion which took place on that occasion, to which I intend briefly to call the attention of the hon. the First Minister. I may state that on November 10th, 1874, a contract was made with Mr. F. Barnard to construct a telegraph line from Cache Creek to Edmonton, 550 miles. That contract required the telegraph to be completed on October 2nd, 1876, and yet, on April 20th, 1877, the hon. the First Minister in his place in this House last night, admitted that he did not know within one hundred or two hundred miles of that point where the Canadian Pacific Railway would go. Yet he made a contract, knowing that he had not a particle of authority in law or a vote from Parliament, to spend one dollar on the construction of a mile of telegraph, except as the railway line may have been located; nevertheless, he made a binding contract with Mr. Barnard, to construct 550 miles of telegraph from Edmonton to Cache Creek, which, according to the hon. gentleman's statements last night, would not be within two hundred miles of the point where it is most probable the railway would go.

Mr. Mackenzie.—I did not say a word about that.

Mr. Tupper.—I am open to correction if Fort George is not between 100 and 200 miles from Cache Creek.

Mr. Mackenzie.—I did not say that the road would go to Fort George.

Appendix

Mr. Tupper.—No. But I will show the hon. gentleman and the House that he had decided that it should go to Fort George ; that after the matter was discussed in the House, that after the vote was taken as to the illegality of the proceedings, the present Minister of Justice, the Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Justice Moss having refused to vote with the hon. gentleman, that it was not illegal when attacked in its most vital part—these gentlemen, including two of the most able minds in the House, refused to support him. A few days afterwards the hon. the First Minister telegraphed to Mr. Barnard to stop work, and he endeavoured to transfer the construction of the telegraph from Edmonton to Cache Creek to Fort George, showing that he had then decided that was to be the railway line. The contract was not merely for the construction of a telegraph line ; it was to aid the construction of a railway as well, because it was given out by the hon. gentleman in his statement in the House that he had contracted with the telegraph constructor to clear the road for 132 feet, which would be so much work done towards the construction of the road itself. Yet all this was done, when the hon. gentleman according to his own statement last night, confessed he did not know within 200 miles where the road was to be. The hon. gentleman was very much mistaken in the statements he made to the House on that occasion. I will not say more than that, because I do not wish to be supposed to bring a charge of wilful mis-statement against the hon. gentleman.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Of course not.

Mr. Tupper.—If I did wish to give it an unpleasant turn I could submit a great deal of authority for the statement I will lay before the House. I do not wish, however, to be so understood. I know the hon. gentleman's mind is burdened with an enormous amount of

Sir Charles Tupper

work, and one of the reasons he has so signally failed in administering the important Department of Public Works is because the hon. gentleman is altogether overweighted, in undertaking that which no man, however great his powers, can discharge, viz. to fill the position of Premier with efficiency and vigour, and at the same time discharge the laborious and almost overwhelming duties devolving upon any Minister of Public Works. I feel on this, as on other occasions, that the hon. the First Minister cannot carry in his mind all the statements necessary in order to meet charges which may be brought against his ministry. To-day it is our duty to bring charges against hon. gentlemen opposite. To-morrow, no distant to-morrow, I believe, it will be their duty to criticize our acts, and I trust when the time comes that we shall be judged in the same lenient and kindly spirit in which I have endeavoured to judge the hon. gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury benches. Well, Sir, the question arose, and it was charged that this contract was made and that the telegraph was being constructed according to law, without the authority of law, and in opposition to the Act, because no line had been located. On page 1013 of Hansard of 1875, I find the following :

“ Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said the line had been located where the contracts had been let, and he conceived the Government were acting according to law.”

I have shown that this contract was let to a point that the hon. gentleman was unable to tell us whether it was on the line or within 200 miles of it ; and that is six months after the time fixed for the completion of the contract.

An Hon. Member.—There is no contract let.

Mr. Tupper.—No, not for the railway, the line is not located. The report proceeds :—

Appendix

“ Mr. Schultz said that the only portion of the work that had been done was that under contract of the Pacific Railway to be useful in the construction of that work. He wished to know if the route of the railroad had been so far established as to admit of the contract of Messrs. Glass, Sifton & Co., about 23 miles, and that had not been placed where the line was completed by any means. No location had been made then, and so far as he (Mr. Schultz) could understand, no location was intended to be made where that line was put up.

“ Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said the hon. gentleman’s statement was incorrect.

“ Mr. Plumb said the line must be put up along the route of the location of the telegraph line, or were the contractors to locate the line for the Government.

“ Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said he had already stated the line was to be put up where the road was to be located (these being the Engineer’s instructions based upon his original suggestion), and he did not know that a single mile of telegraph line was being erected anywhere except on the line of the road.

“ Mr. Kirkpatrick asked the Premier if he could tell the House whether the line was erected from Fort Edmonton to Cedar Creek. Unless this had been done, and it was known definitely where the line of railway was to run, the contracts had been improperly given out.

“ Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said these contracts were given out in accordance with the very letter of the Statute, and the House had voted money to carry them out.”

On March 31st this motion was made in the House, and this discussion took place, and there is a very significant commentary on what took place. According to this document brought down and laid upon the table of the House by the Government, the following significant message was sent to the contractor, Mr. Barnard :—

Sir Charles Tupper

“OTTAWA, 9th April, 1875.

“Discontinue building of telegraph line, British Columbia, under contract with this Department. You will not be called upon to proceed with the work for some months. At what price would you erect telegraph, say forty-five (45) miles from Quesnel on old telegraph trail, clearing twenty (20) feet wide ?

“Signed, F. BRAUN,
“Secretary.”

So that the gentleman who had a binding contract to finish his work by October, 1876, is told to stop his work, and is coolly asked not to send in a tender in accordance with the provision of the Act that no work shall be done except by open public tender, but to put in a statement as to what he would erect 45 miles of telegraph line for. Mr. Barnard's reply is a very significant one :—

“I had completed 50 miles of the line, with the exception of erecting the poles and attaching the wire (which can be done at a small cost), receiving a certificate for \$8000, which has been paid.”

So that at the time when the House was informed by the hon. gentleman that no work was being done, except where the railway was being located, \$8000 had been paid to the contractor for work done at a point which it is not known to-day whether it is within 200 miles of the line or not ; and Mr. Barnard shows that he had then involved himself in engagements in trying to fill this Government contract to the extent of \$43,720. The Public Accounts show a payment to Mr. Barnard to December 31st on this work of \$18,284. Now I think that the most incredulous, the most critical gentleman on the other side of the House will have some difficulty in relieving himself of the responsibility of saying that a Government who would thus undertake, in violation of

Appendix

a statute, to expend money contrary to, and in open defiance of the law, and to involve the country in a large amount of utterly useless expenditure in connection with this work, are not fairly chargeable with being open to public censure. Now, Sir, I have drawn the attention of the House to the mode in which the Government failed in their duty in reference to the purchase of steel rails. I have drawn the attention of the House to the mode in which they have failed in their duty in carrying out the railway in connection with the telegraph line ; and I have shown that in both cases a large amount of public money has been sacrificed as well as all Parliamentary practice and principle ignored. I will now briefly turn the attention of the House to the mode in which the Government have carried on the contract for the construction of the Georgian Bay branch. As I have stated before, they declared that this was a question of such vital urgency and hot haste that they must go forward, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the hon. gentlemen in Opposition that no instrumental survey had been made, and that the Government had no means of informing themselves in relation to the nature of the country or the character of the work. The hon. gentleman made a contract for the construction of the Georgian Bay branch. That was in February, 1875, during the time that Parliament was sitting. It would have been better, under the circumstances, considering the extraordinary character of that contract, although he had obtained authority from the House, it would only have been wise to take the House into his confidence before the contract was made. That was not done ; nor was the approval of Parliament asked for that contract. I myself put a motion on the paper to condemn the Georgian Bay contract, but the First Minister, by adjourning the House, prevented its being reached. I am not now going to say one word touching

Sir Charles Tupper

the desirability of the work ; but one thing is obvious, Sir, that if the work was a mistake, then there is no justification for the step they have taken. If it was a matter of such vital urgency as the First Minister declared to the House, how is he going to justify himself for folding his hands at the end of a couple of years, in relation to this work, which he declared to be so vitally necessary so long ago as November, 1874, two years and a half ago ? How did the hon. gentleman discharge his duty to the House and the country in relation to the contract itself ? The law was plain. The law declared that he was precluded and prohibited from giving that contract to anybody unless they could satisfy him and give conclusive evidence that they possessed a capital of \$4000 per mile. Now, Sir, I draw the attention of hon. gentlemen to this fact, that the amount I am stating is far below the sum required by law, for this reason : instead of having 85 miles, according to Mr. Foster, it is 105 miles, and according to Mr. Fleming it is $103\frac{1}{2}$ miles, a pretty striking illustration, I think, to the House of the mode in which the Government plunged blindly and contrary to the remonstrances given them from this side of the House, into the undertaking of this contract at all ; but I say that there is a law which precluded the Minister of Public Works from letting one mile of that contract until he had satisfied himself that Mr. Foster possessed the capital of \$340,000, according to his own estimate of the distance, under the Act. Now, Sir, what was Mr. Foster's position ? The hon. gentleman has been asked, What evidence had you of Mr. Foster's ability to carry on this work ? and he was obliged to answer, None ; and this with regard to a contract concerning which the law obliged him to have satisfactory testimony before he let it, that Mr. Foster had a capital of \$340,000 ; and that is only an insignificant portion of the capital which was required. The

Appendix

hon. gentleman did not take any means of ascertaining whether Mr. Foster was worth a single dollar ; and we all know now that he was not worth a dollar ; and that when the contract was let it was a matter of notoriety that he had involved himself by the purchase of the Canada Central Railway. He was then bound to the payment of interest, which he could not begin to pay at all ; and, in fact, no man in the country stood in a more embarrassed position than Mr. A. B. Foster at the time when the contract was given him. The following telegram, from a daily paper published a few days since, says :—

“ The Financial storm which has overtaken the hon. A. B. Foster, the railway contractor, is due to the following causes :—In 1871 he bought the rights of Mr. Bolckow in the Brockville and Ottawa and Canada Central railways, on the understanding that he was to pay a certain sum for them in 10 years, and to commence paying instalments of the purchase price at the end of 5 years.”

I stated it was no secret that he was struggling with difficulties with this gigantic load of debt around his neck, at the very moment when the contract was given him. It further says :—

“ The price was large, and in addition he bought from Mr. Bolckow a million and a quarter dollars' worth of iron rails, which he never paid for. The price of the interest in the railways and rails was over two million dollars. He has paid some small amount of interest on the railway purchases, but nothing on the rails. The railway companies have also instituted several suits against Mr. Foster in Ontario, and proceedings have been taken to foreclose on the bonds held by Mr. Bolckow. Several bills of defendants now running have not yet been sued on. Messrs. O'Halloran, q.c., and Edward Carter, q.c., counsel for Mr. Foster, are con-

Sir Charles Tupper

testing the writ of attachment on the ground that the affidavit is irregular and insufficient, and also upon the merits charging that the Brockville and Ottawa Railway Company, plaintiffs, have no claim whatever against Mr. Foster. The contestation was presented at Sweetsbury to-day."

Now, I say, Sir, that the First Minister is called upon to justify himself to this House, and say why he let this contract in the face of the law, and contrary to law, ignoring all its provisions, and treating Parliament as if they were his teachers instead of being what Parliament always ought to be, the masters of the Government of the day. Parliament always should hold the position of requiring the Government to fulfil the law or vacate the position that such non-fulfilment shows that they are not worthy to fill ; and I say that the hon. gentleman has to justify himself to this House, under these circumstances, for making this enormous contract with Mr. Foster and making a contract to build a line of railway which they did not know the length of within 20 miles at the time ; and upon which no survey had been made and concerning which no estimate had been prepared. The hon. gentleman violated the law if he has built this work under the Public Works Act. What does this Act say ? it declares that :—

" It shall be the duty of the Chief Engineer to prepare maps, plans and estimates for all public works which are about to be constructed or repaired by the Department."

And yet, Sir, without a plan, without an estimate, without anything whatever, without even a recommendation from the Chief Engineer, this work is entered upon ; and that without a survey, without the slightest means being taken to ascertain what ought to be done with reference to a work which was considered of such

Appendix

vital importance that it must be rushed through without Parliament having permission to pass on the contract at all. It was thus undertaken, and a binding contract made with the Government. Well, Sir, that law was violated ; and where are we to-day ? Why, to-day we are told that \$41,000 of public money has been paid. Why paid ? How paid ? Upon the certificate of the Chief Engineer ? The hon. gentleman has never received such a certificate. The Chief Engineer of the C. P. Railway never signed a certificate for a dollar of this \$41,000 ; and, Sir, it was not only paid without such a certificate, but also without proper vouchers. Read the document brought down in relation to this matter. Let the attention of this House be drawn for a moment to the paper—the extraordinary paper laid on the table of the House in connection with this most extraordinary contract—and what will it show ? Why, Sir, it will show that we have \$41,000 paid on the Georgian Bay contract. It will show, Sir, that we have the contract cancelled, and, Sir, this most extraordinary document will show the mode in which the public work is carried on. I think that this document will hold a very remarkable position. On November 27th Mr. Foster says :—

“ We will have the profile of the Canadian Central Railway in readiness to submit to the Department in the course of three or four weeks, and the remainder to French River in about two months.”

On December 20th, he asks for important modifications. On December 23rd, Mr. Fleming advises an extension of time for one year, and that the substitution of 26 miles of navigation would be reasonable. On February 8th Mr. Foster says that his total outlay amounted to \$63,000. On February 9th Mr. Fleming says :—

Sir Charles Tupper

“That the porportion payable on the expenditure of \$38,864 would be \$9716 less 15% to be retained under the ninth section of the contract.”

One would suppose that the Government would respect a declaration of that kind from the Chief Engineer, but it appears that this was not the case. It seems that the hon. Minister of Public Works, as I stated before, delights in showing Parliament that he recognizes no authority here or anywhere else, and that anything contained in the Statute Book or any respect for Parliament is not worth a moment's consideration. On February 28th a Minute of Council was passed on the recommendation of the Minister of Public Works, advising that this contract be cancelled and that the \$83,000, which the law required should be deposited as security for the fulfilment of the contract, should be returned.

This deposit belonged to the people of Canada and it ought not to have been returned, without the sanction of Parliament, to Mr. Foster. The Minute of Council said that: “The amount claimed by Mr. Foster to the 1st instant is \$38,862.28, \$20,000 of which may be safely paid.” On April 28th, Mr. Fleming said:—

“I find by the accounts furnished by Mr. Foster, that there are only receipts for about \$20,000. Accordingly, I would advise that he be called upon to furnish complete vouchers, and that the whole be placed in the Audit Department for examination.”

I think that this was a very reasonable and practical suggestion, and in this the House will quite agree with me. But instead of that being done, instead of the suggestion of the Chief Engineer being carried out—although the First Minister is so ready to fall back on that gentleman to support himself whenever he can do so—it appears it was treated with contempt, and the

Appendix

answer is an Order in Council dated May 6th recommending the payment of \$36,838.15, and that the balance on the \$50,996, the total sum claimed, be paid on the production of vouchers, and this was done, although Mr. Fleming had shown that only \$9716 less 15% could be paid under the contract.

Mr. Mackenzie.—When did Mr. Fleming say that ?

Mr. Tupper.—Mr. Fleming said in his letter dated February 9th :—

“The proportion thereof, payable on an expenditure of \$38,864.28 would be \$9716.07 less 15% to be reclaimed under the ninth section of the contract.”

The difficulty of readily finding these three statements is, that the return is put together in the most extraordinary manner: One half is backwards and the other half, I was going to say, is upside down.

In the Order of Council of April 28th, Mr. Fleming says :—

“I find, of the accounts furnished by Mr. Foster, there are only receipts for about \$20,000. Accordingly, I would advise that he be called upon to furnish complete vouchers, and that the whole be placed in the Audit Department for examination.”

On May 6th, a few days afterwards, without any such audit the Minister of Public Works recommends that \$36,838.15 be paid, deducting the sum of \$20,000 already paid.

Mr. Mackenzie.—That was not the balance of \$50,000.

Mr. Tupper.—He further recommends that he be authorized to pay the remaining accounts to an extent not exceeding in the whole the said sum of “\$50,966.27, as soon as such vouchers are presented as shall be satisfactory.”

Mr. Mackenzie.—Does the hon. gentleman call that a balance ?

Sir Charles Tupper

Mr. Tupper.—I said the balance on \$50,000—that is, the balance remaining on \$50,000. The hon. gentleman misunderstood me.

Mr. Mackenzie.—I did not misunderstand the hon. gentleman. He said there was a balance of \$50,000, and when I called to him to show where that balance was stated he looked for it, but could not find it. Now he makes out that he did not mean that. The amount referred to was made up of the following items: Buildings, etc., at mouth of French River, \$9,494.83; Survey, \$31,838.15; Head Office expenses and fees to consulting engineer \$5000; contingent expenses at 10 per cent \$4633; total \$50,966.27. So that instead of there being a balance of \$50,000, that is the sum total of the claim of Mr. Foster, and which the Minister has recommended should be paid as soon as such vouchers were presented as were satisfactory, first as to the character and usefulness of the work at French River; and, secondly, the actual payment of the several sums for purposes defined in the Order in Council of February 5th, 1876.

Mr. Tupper.—If the hon. gentleman understood me to say there was a balance of \$50,000 after the \$36,838 were paid he misunderstood me. I meant that the value \$50,966 was the whole amount claimed by Mr. Foster. I do not want to detain the House while I read the whole amended Order of Council. I said that Mr. Fleming stated that he could only find receipts for \$20,000, and that Mr. Fleming advised that Mr. Foster be called upon to furnish complete vouchers, and that the whole be placed in the Audit Department for examination; but, instead of that, as far as any evidence given to the House shows, no such audit was placed. The hon. the Minister of Public Works recommended that \$36,838.15 be paid, and also that the balance on \$50,966.27 be paid on production of vouchers. I trust I have made myself clear to the hon. gentleman. It does

Appendix

not require the slightest exaggeration in order to make the case sufficiently strong, as I think I have convinced the hon. gentleman. We come now to the case of the Canada Central Railway. I have shown the House the mode in which Mr. Foster is dealt with. That a contract was made with him without his showing that he had sufficient capital to carry it out ; that he entered upon the work ; and that he got a certain amount for that work. And, if the House wants to know more as to the character of that work, it can refer to Mr. Ridout, who had been appointed by the Government in charge of that work, and who, a short time before these payments were made, gave a most remarkable history of the mode in which the work was proceeded with. On November 22nd Mr. Ridout, who had been sent to examine the work, says that Mr. Foster's engineer, Mr. Harris, was unable to afford him any positive information of the result of their survey so far as made, having only in his office a few rough pieces of profiles and maps of portions of the early survey in a very unfinished state, no proper profile or map having as yet been made. If the House will turn to the Journals for 1875 they will find the terms on which the Government was authorized by this House to make a contract in relation to the Canada Central. What were they ? :—

“ That the Company shall, within one month from the ratification of this order in Council by the House of Commons, satisfy the Minister of Public Works that they have entered into a bona-fide contract, or contracts for the building of the railway, and have provided sufficient means, with the Government bonus, to secure the completion of the line on or before the first day of January, 1877, and also that the Company shall, from the date of such contracts, make continuously such progress as will justify the hope of the completion of the line within the time mentioned.”

Sir Charles Tupper

Now there is the basis on which the Government alone could make a contract and the terms upon which alone they could make any payment. In the first instance I want to know with whom they made the contract? They are obliged by law, they are compelled by the action of the House to ascertain that this Company have sufficient means with that bonus to complete the work by the 1st January, 1877, and they are only permitted by their Order in Council to make a contract with parties who proved beyond peradventure they had the means. Whom did they make it with? They made it with Mr. A. B. Foster, not content with giving the contract for a Georgian Bay branch, in which they were required by law to have proofs that he had a capital of \$340,000. They gave another contract for the Canada Central to the same man without the slightest evidence that he possessed a single dollar or had the means of doing anything whatever. It is then apparent that this contract was made in the teeth of the Order in Council with a party that the Order in Council excludes from making such a contract at all, limiting as it does, the payment to a person who had made the contract and was not making such continuous progress as would complete it within the time. Yet \$68,000 of the public money of the country has been paid over to this Mr. A. B. Foster, in violation of the express terms of the Act of this House and without the evidence that he was doing anything at all except those imperfect surveys, which are treated with much contempt by the Government engineer who was sent up to see what he was doing and on what pretext he was claiming to be paid. He was paid all the money he professed to have expended on his surveys, and that without vouchers or audit; without the authority of law, in opposition to the express terms of his contract, then he was paid \$68,000 on the pretext that he had

Appendix

deposited a lot of iron rails somewhere. The line is not located, the surveys have not been finished according to Mr. Fleming's statement and Mr. Ridout's statement. No one knows where the line is to begin, whether 20 miles from Renfrew or not, because the estimated 85 miles from Burnt Lake to the Georgian Bay turned out to be 105 miles; so that from the vicinity of Douglas to Burnt Lake would not, improbably, be 140 miles if the same inaccurate estimate was made. So they do not know if these rails, what few are left of them, are now within 20 miles of where the line was to commence. These iron rails are shown to be of the most worthless character, but they were valued by Mr. Foster, during the past season, at \$48.00 per ton, and he was paid \$68,000 on them at that rate. That is not the worst, it will probably turn out that these rails are owned by parties in England, that if they are of no more value than we have reason to suppose, it is of very little consequence what became of them. It is said that what were used for ballasting were worn out, they were so utterly worthless. After Mr. Foster was paid \$68,000 in violation of the law, in violation of the Order in Council, which required him to be going on continuously with the work and showing that he could complete this contract, he coolly asked the loan of 100 tons of those rails; and this good-natured Government, this Government which seems to be owned by Mr. Foster, say very well, but you must deposit some security, so he deposited some South-Eastern Railway bonds; and when we asked the First Minister, who had no more authority to take and lend that 100 tons of rails than to lend money out of the Treasury, after paying more than twice as much as they were worth, what security did you get?—He says, South-Eastern Railway bonds. We asked if he knew whether they are worth anything. No! he says that he is unable to say

Sir Charles Tupper

that they can be sold at all, and I believe for the best reason that they have, as far as I can ascertain, no marketable value. Then, Sir, when gentlemen in Opposition, patient and enduring as we are, ready to pass over almost anything that is not of such a grave nature as to compel us to do our duty to the country, when we call attention to it, and it is a matter of investigation, what turns out to be the fact? Why, that instead of 100 tons being gone, there are 227 tons gone, and without any authority, without any security, without any pretence, without even the formality of asking for the last 127 tons. I do the Government the justice to say that I believe they were ignorant of the fact; that this property which had been paid for, that this property which belonged to the country, was being used by Mr. Foster as if it was his own private property. That is the condition of things on which I think we are justified in asking the House to say it cannot agree to endorse the policy of the Government, or the mode in which the Canadian Pacific Railway has been carried out.

I must say something about a most remarkable transaction; that is, a report brought down, I believe, to the Senate—at all events it is a public document—showing what is going on at the interesting section of the country called “Thunder Bay.” I said before that I would carefully guard myself against using a word or throwing out insinuations which might be construed into a personal assault or anything outside of the necessary criticism of this work as a public transaction.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Do not spare yourself.

Mr. Tupper.—I wish I could be spared, I believe the Minister of Public Works—unlike me—is incapable of appreciating the pain it gives me to be compelled to criticize the conduct of any public man as my duty obliges me to criticize his. If he knew the

Appendix

pleasure it gave me to say, as I did two years ago, that I believed there was no man in this country better able to fill the office of Minister of Public Works than himself, he would appreciate the pain with which I am now forced to admit that I was no prophet, and that the administration of his Department has obliged me to reconsider that compliment which I was so happy to be able to bestow, in this House, upon the hon. gentleman. But, Sir, I have shown that this railway line was taken down there, and this branch commenced, without the authority of Parliament. There is no law for the construction of the Thunder Bay branch. We have been told that this is an economical Government. Well, we have had a specimen of their economy in this connection. But when I tell the House that the return brought down shows that over \$51,000 have been paid for about a mile of right of way at Kaministiquia, that wild and unsettled country, they can form some conception of how the Government are expending the public money. Here is a country which has been described—and I need not describe again—by the hon. the Minister of Finance as a road running through an unpeopled desert, and which \$51,000 would almost have bought the fee simple of a few years ago. No doubt the value of property has risen from the fact of the Government locating a road there, but it is an important question for discussion why it should have gone to that point instead of to Prince Arthur's Landing, or why it should have gone to a place which lengthens the road.

Mr. Mackenzie.—It shortens the road.

Mr. Tupper.—Any person looking at the map distributed to the House will find that the one line is curved and the other almost direct. But I believe I am right in saying that private enterprise is building a line to Prince Arthur's Landing, and that the Govern-

Sir Charles Tupper

ment of Ontario have subsidized the line to the extent of \$2000 per mile to make this connection. I believe that returns brought down to the House prove that Mr. Baillairge has shown that there are forty-three days more of navigation to Prince Arthur's Landing than to the point where the Government are making the terminus of the line. I am now quoting from the report brought down by the Government. Mr. Baillairge is a gentleman of high attainments, a gentleman who has long been in the Public Works Department, and who was sent up specially to examine into this question, and this is his report. It may be worthy of the consideration of the House or it may be not.

Mr. Mackenzie.—It cannot be correct.

Mr. Tupper.—If the hon. gentleman says it is not correct he is correcting his own return submitted on the authority of his own engineer. I do not want to detain the House, and will therefore pass over that without taking time to turn over authorities; but whenever the accuracy of any statement I make is challenged I think I shall be just as likely to give as decisive testimony as I have given now.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Where is that report?

Mr. Tupper.—It is the report relating to the Port Francis locks or canal.

Mr. Mackenzie.—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to correct him, because I do not think he deliberately intended to mislead the House. The date the hon. gentleman quoted has no reference to the river or Thunder Bay at all; it is the chain of lakes away in the interior 200 miles from this.

Mr. Tupper.—I will show the House that if any person is to blame it is the one who made the report. The hon. gentleman calls Kaministiquia the present terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I assume, as this return says: "River Kaministiquia

Appendix

the present terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway," and puts the words "opening twenty-fifth May and closing twentieth of October" opposite, that it applied to the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mr. Mackenzie.—The figures are not opposite.

Mr. Tupper.—The hon. gentleman will see if I am inaccurate in the statement that inaccuracy has followed the extraordinary way in which this return has described the terminus.

Mr. Baillairge has put down navigation as opening on twenty-fifth May and closing on the twenty-sixth October. He may not have meant that, but it is certainly calculated to give that impression, and I am glad the hon. gentleman has called my attention to it.

Mr. Mackenzie.—The return will not read that way at all.

Mr. Tupper.—I read it in that way, and I am glad, if there is any error, that the hon. gentleman has drawn attention to it, because I can assure him I am most anxious to avoid the slightest error of statement in criticizing these matters. But, at all events, there is a considerable difference between the opening and closing of navigation at the two points.

Mr. Mackenzie.—No.

Mr. Tupper.—Why even the hon. gentleman's own correction admits considerable difference, and when we take into consideration, Sir, the fact we are building 400 miles of railway from Thunder Bay to the Red River, and that we are going to this enormous expenditure of public money for the construction of a road that is to be practically useless for something like at least six months in the year, it does become important, Sir, even to the extent of a few days as to the opening of navigation; but, Sir, I did not propose to discuss whether an error had been made or not in the selection of one point or the other; but I want to draw the

Sir Charles Tupper

attention of the House to this point, the amount paid for the right of way at Kaministiquia. Now, Sir, it is perfectly obvious that the location of a railway enormously increases the value of land; but I deny that speculators—and these people are declared to be speculators; it is so stated in this document which has been brought down by the Government—and persons who have gone in to purchase land on speculation at a merely nominal figure, have a right to be paid by the Government the increased value of their land owing to the location of the railway there. When the Intercolonial Railway was located, the principle observed by the Government and by the Commissioners in the payment for right of way was the rational principle of paying the amount that the land would have been worth if the railroad had not been located there, because it is perfectly obvious that was all the parties owning it were entitled to.

Mr. Bowell.—That is all the Act allowed.

Mr. Tupper.—Yes; that is all the Act allowed, and all it ought to allow, because it is perfectly apparent that the Government would pay otherwise twice the increased value of the land, and that when the parties are in most instances only too glad to give the right of way. It is proved that this appears on the papers to have been a town, but it was a town without any houses. I believe that after they made up their minds to sell to the Government a rough shanty was erected on it to give it additional value, but all the streets and everything else about it existed only on paper and in the imagination of these wise and prudent speculators who managed to pocket the people's money without giving any equivalent consideration for it. Now, Sir, what do you suppose was paid by the Intercolonial Railroad Commissioners for the right of way on five hundred miles in round numbers of the line of the

Appendix

Intercolonial Railway? and this was proved a wild and unsettled country like Kaministiquia, but it ran in many places through the finest, the most arable and the most valuable land to be found in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Quebec—only about \$273,000; and, Sir, I may say that 80 miles of right of way, with station grounds, gravel pits and everything that the Government required in connection with the construction of a road through Nova Scotia in the splendid counties of Cumberland and Colchester through the town of Truro and through the village of Amherst including damages to buildings and for buildings and for everything else, cost only about three thousand dollars more than for this mile of right of way at Kaministiquia. What will the House say when I tell them that, according to the rate paid for the roadway at Thunder Bay, the Government have paid at the rate of nearly three millions of money more than for the whole cost of constructing the Intercolonial Railway with all the appurtenances and with all the rolling stock and with everything else on it; and that in fact these 500 miles, according to the rate paid at Thunder Bay, would have cost instead of \$272,420, which was the entire cost of 500 miles through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Quebec, \$25,709,500 for the right of way alone; such would have been the cost had the owners of land on the Intercolonial been paid at the same rate as these speculators at Kaministiquia, who had thus been permitted to pocket the people's money. Sir, I only need to draw the attention of the House to these figures to show that the most wasteful extravagance in the use of public money has been exhibited by the Government in relation to that matter.

An Hon. Gentleman.—Who got it?

Mr. Tupper.—An hon. gentleman asks me who got it;

Sir Charles Tupper

but to answer that would take me to another branch of the subject, which, as I stated at the outset, I wanted to avoid ; I must therefore decline to say anything with reference to that enquiry. But, Sir, I now come to another matter in connection with this work, and that is, the Fort Francis locks. I will not refer to it at length, and I will not occupy much of the time of the House with it, because it has been laid before the House previously ; but I must say this, Sir, that the policy of the Government was stated in very distinct terms in 1875 by the Minister of Public Works, and it was this :—

“ In addition therefore to the railways surveys from Lake Shebandowan to Lake Superior, a distance of forty-five miles, and from Red River to Rat Portage, a distance of 114 miles, we have felt it desirable to make correct surveys during the season of the intervening distance. The entire distance from Red River to Lake Superior is in round numbers 430 miles by the Dawson route. Of this we have surveyed and asked for tenders for 155 or 160 miles. This leaves a distance between the two points of 270 miles, of that distance we will be able by constructing two cheap locks at Fort Francis to obtain from Rat Portage uninterrupted steam navigation for a distance of nearly 200 miles to Sturgeon Falls at the east end of Rainy Lake.”

He further says :—

“ We hope within two years, or two and a half at the outside, that we will have a railway finished at the eastern and western ends, and, with these and the locks at Fort Francis, we expect that the distance altogether may be traversed in four or five days at the outside, that now take on the average from nine to twelve days.”

That was the policy of the Government as avowed in 1875 ; and I may state that the policy announced in

Appendix

the speech of the hon. gentleman in submitting the Railway Act of 1874 was the immediate construction of a through line of railway from Lake Superior to Red River. In 1875, a year afterwards, that policy was abandoned, and it was proposed to substitute for it a mixed route of land and water—270 miles of navigation with a short line of railway at each end. The attention of the hon. Minister was drawn in forcible terms, from this side of the House, to the fact that as on the United States side there was a line from Duluth to Red River, it was utterly impossible to suppose that we could compete by 150 miles of railway at the two ends of the route, and half a dozen or eight portages to cross, and 270 miles of navigation ; and that all the money expended on it would be thrown away. The hon. gentleman then revised his policy and again changed it, undertaking to construct a through line of railway from Thunder Bay direct to Red River. When, Sir, this was done, it was assumed that this expenditure, which would have been thrown away in any case, and utterly useless, if a direct line of railway was made, would be abandoned, and that no further expenditure of money should take place on it. It appears, however, that, while undertaking to construct as rapidly as the location of a through line of railway would permit, a through railway, the Government have at the same time expended over \$100,000 of public money, not on any portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but on these locks at Fort Francis, and in that direction. Now, Sir, I have said that the report, in reference to Mr. Foster, was a marvellous report, but it is fact rather thrown into the shade, if anything, by the Fort Francis locks report. What do we find ? We find that although the Public Works Act says that the Government must have the specifications of the engineer in all works constructed by that Department, they had no specifica-

Sir Charles Tupper

tions, and that a Mr. Sutherland—who he is I know not—of Orillia, is called in hot haste to go and take charge of the work, and actually commence excavations without an estimate, without a plan, without engineering, or anything else. A more astounding series of statements, except for gentlemen who are conversant with these papers, which have recently been brought down, could scarcely be presented to the House, than these papers which are before us at present. Why, Sir, they show that there were no tenders. The law says that the Government must have tenders. The vote is for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Every dollar expended is expended under that Act, or under no Act at all. If they have expended it under the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, then, as my right hon. friend has stated, they are acting contrary to law, for they did it without tender ; and if it was expended under the Public Works Act, then it was contrary to law, because they have no vote for it and no authority. Sir, it will be seen by the Public Works Act that, in that case, they would be violating the Act. It says :—

“ Nothing in this Act shall give authority to the Minister to cause expenditure not previously sanctioned by Parliament, except for such repairs and alterations as the interest of the public service shall require.”

Sir, in that case, whether it was expended under the Canadian Pacific Railway Act, or under the Public Works Act, the Government cannot proceed without estimates, without plans, and without surveys by the Engineer ; and you find that you have, as in the other return, to read this book backwards, and that when you have got to the end of the chapter, after the money has been spent, you get an estimate, and that after the Government has expended over \$100,000, they find that it is desirable to have an estimate, and send a

Appendix

gentleman up there to furnish them with one. On May 11th, 1875, Mr. Braun writes to Mr. Sutherland that :—

“ Pending the arrival from Ottawa of such instructions, you will proceed with the excavations first, of the whole of the earth work, and afterwards with such portions of the work as must necessarily be taken out.”

On July 24th Mr. Sutherland was informed :—

“ Full instructions have been sent to Mr. Hazlewood to proceed to Fort Francis and prepare a full and complete design for the whole work.”

On August 2nd following, Mr. Hazlewood wrote to Mr. Braun :—

“ Dear Sir,—Your communications, numbers 31,203 and 31,204 with enclosures, are to hand duly. I shall give the canal question at Fort Francis my best attention. I have brought Mr. Mortimer down to work upon the plans, and as soon as they are ready I shall not lose a moment in forwarding them to Ottawa. In the meantime I may state that I have approved of the locations selected by Mr. Mortimer for the canal at Fort Francis.”

Mr. Mackenzie.—On May 11th Mr. Braun had written to Mr. Sutherland :—

“ On reaching Fort Francis you will see Mr. Mortimer, resident engineer, who will be at once instructed to take soundings with a view to determining the exact points at which it would be most desirable to construct the canal locks at each, and you will then, as speedily as possible ascertain the nature of the rock and the depth of various points, so that Mr. Mortimer can make a section.”

And on July 5th—a month before the hon. gentleman said he had been instructed to go there—wrote :—

“ According to instructions received from Mr. Hazlewood, I have made the necessary profile, and have laid

Sir Charles Tupper

out the ground for the locks on Rainy River at this place.”

Now, does the hon. gentleman mean to mix up these dates with the view of misleading the House ?

Mr. Tupper.—I will now read from the document brought down by the hon. the First Minister himself. The first thing to be noticed is the extraordinary statement that :—

“ In the return prepared for the House in the matter of the Fort Francis locks, there is wanting the report of Mr. S. Hazlewood, giving an estimate of the cost of the works. The report is mislaid, but Mr. Hazlewood has been written to for a copy of it.”

I believe among all the documents with reference to an important public work that perhaps is the most extraordinary statement that could be found. On May 11th, a letter was sent to Mr. Sutherland, signed by Mr. Braun, stating :—

“ When you reach Fort William you will see Mr. Walter Oliver, and, if he has finished the work entrusted to him, he will accompany you to assist in taking charge of the men. Mr. James MacDonald and Mr. Oliver will act as foremen under you, either in the woods or at the works, as you may deem desirable.”

An Hon. Member.—What Mr. Oliver is that ?

Mr. Tupper.—I don't know. This Fort Francis lock appears to have been a happy preserve for the needy friends of the Government, who could be shipped up there out of the reach of anyone. Did anyone ever hear of a resident engineer being the person to prepare plans and to authorize the construction of a public work ? What does the hon. First Minister take the House for ? Does not he not suppose that we know that a resident engineer is generally a person with

Appendix

merely sufficient knowledge of engineering to enable him to carry out the instructions of his superior officers ? Long months afterwards it was found that Mr. Mortimer's information was all wrong, that he had not the proper depth of the locks or anything connected with them ; and that was the best evidence that Mr. Mortimer was not a competent engineer. On July 24th, Mr. Sutherland was written to as follows :—

“ These instructions necessarily include the re-examination of the line recommended by yourself and Mr. Mortimer, and, should Mr. Hazlewood conceive it necessary to make any change in the location, you will defer to his opinions, and carry on the work on the amended line he may trace out, should he conceive that course to be necessary.”

Now, I ask, in the history of Canada was ever a public work proceeded with in such a manner as that ? I do not think there was. At all events it was done in deliberate defiance of the Public Works Act, and without any sufficient authority. Everything like law and precedence, and everything that savours of Parliamentary Government were thrown to the winds because the hon. the First Minister decided that the work should be commenced at once. Every person knew that the engineer in charge should have control and power over the work. But Mr. Hazlewood was written to as follows :—

“ As the site where Mr. Sutherland will commence his excavation has been recommended by Mr. Mortimer equally as by yourself, there is fair reason to look forward to the line selected by them being approved by yourself.”

I have never heard of such instructions given to an engineer. It was a direct hint to him how to make up his mind. Would it be supposed that under such

Sir Charles Tupper

circumstances as those the work of excavation should have been ordered by the hon. the Minister of Public Works on May 11th? On April 18th, 1876, nearly a year afterwards, Mr. Braun wrote to Mr. Sutherland :—

“ Sir,—I am directed to forward you herewith a copy of the plan of lock at Fort Francis prepared by Mr. Page which has been approved of by the Minister. I am to authorize you to resume work on the said lock by day labour and to request that you will submit to the Department an estimate of the probable monthly expenditure for the next twelve months.”

This letter was sent although the work had been commenced nearly a year before under the direction of the Minister of Public Works. And yet the hon. gentleman would insinuate that I was not doing justice to these statements because I did not read them in detail. We at last get something practical. It is a report signed by Mr. Baillairge, who had been instructed on August 30th to proceed to Fort Francis. Mr. Baillairge said, in effect, that all the money had been thrown away, and that the work was practically useless unless a great deal more money was spent upon it, and showed that the work had proved an utter delusion. He said :—

“ The object for which the Fort Francis Canal is being constructed cannot be obtained unless Rainy River is improved so as to ensure the requisite draft and the ascent of vessels against the current in the rapid.”

He goes on to speak of the mode of improvements, and says :—

“ No definite scheme or estimate can, however, be submitted, unless the necessary levels, soundings and measurements are taken along the entire line of the proposed navigation.”

Appendix

It is thus shown that about a year after this work was in progress an engineer of the Public Works Department was sent up to the locality and found the Government had not taken the first preliminary step required to be taken before the money was expended. But he gave on September 1st, 1876, a very remarkable statement. He said :—

“ Sir,—Having been instructed on the 3rd ult., by the Hon. the Minister of Public Works to examine the Fort Francis Canal, now under your charge, and to give such directions as I may deem advisable, I herewith enclose for your guidance a specification of the work to be done according to the revised plan with which you have lately been furnished.

“ This plan was prepared from somewhat limited information, and is based on the high and low-water levels originally observed by the engineer who first laid out the work ; the low-water levels have since been found to be fourteen inches lower than represented on the plan. I have, therefore, appended to the specification a list of levels, showing the elevation of the main portions of the work, so as to suit the highest and lowest water levels observed up to the present time.”

So we have in regard to this work upon which the excavations were commenced on May 11th, 1875, a statement made by Mr. Baillairge on September 1st, 1876, that they were mistaken as to the first principles and initial steps necessary to the very inception of the work. Mr. Baillairge continues :—

“ As it is important to ascertain the extent and nature of the obstructions, and the cost of removing or overcoming the same, you are hereby requested to examine the sections of the channels referred to, and such other points as may appear doubtful, during the season of lowest water, and to furnish the Department with a

Sir Charles Tupper

report thereon, together with an estimate of the probable cost of improving the channel for the required draught from Rainy Lake to the Lake of the Woods."

I hope I have satisfied the hon. the Minister of Public Works, and, in reading the text of this remarkable document, I have given the House the best evidence that the work was undertaken without any knowledge of the subject, and after \$100,000 were expended an engineer was sent to investigate and report on the work, showing, in the most conclusive manner, that the information which the hon. the Minister of Public Works was bound to have obtained before entering upon the undertaking was not fully obtained until one year and a half after the work was commenced; and, in fact, a more reckless, illegal, unjustifiable expenditure of public money had never been made by any person in this country. In the report of the hon. the Minister of Public Works on page 26, what do we find? We find that at this place where Fort Francis Lock is being constructed with seven feet of water on the sills, for forty miles there is a depth of only four feet and a half; yet the public money is used without plans, specifications or authority of the Chief Engineer; or without any recommendation under which one dollar could be expended, and the hon. gentleman makes an expenditure of \$100,000, which, unless followed up by an expenditure of half a million more, will not accomplish the object proposed. But suppose the works would be completed, what then? Does anyone suppose that with a railway from Duluth to Red River a single ton of freight would be carried by that route? As regards the transportation of rails by this route there would be eight portages, involving sixteen times loading and unloading, putting the rails into wagons and taking them out again; and the most insane Minister of Public Works would not undertake to transport one ton of heavy freight

Appendix

of any description by any such line. Yet, the hon. gentleman adhered to the policy he had presented before he had undertaken to construct a direct line from Thunder Bay to Red River, and went on with this expenditure. But the amount was not charged to current expenditure, as, under the late Government, all expenditures in connection with the Dawson route were charged. I draw the attention of the hon. the Minister of Finance to the fact that, when he is comparing the expenditure of 1873-4 and subsequent years, all such expenditures under the late Government were charged to current revenue, and not chargeable to capital under this Government. All these expenditures are made in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and thus hundreds of thousands of dollars were expended without having any more connection with the railway than if it was spent in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. I am happy to say that the duty I have laid upon myself is drawing to a close, I think I have given to the House sufficient reason in relation to the policy of the Government, and the mode in which they have carried out that policy, for passing a moderate censure, the moderate censure that I propose—that this House cannot approve of the policy of the Government. We cannot approve of it, because Ministers have violated their principles and their pledges ; because the men who declared to the Canadian public that the railway would never be built by any other mode than by a private company, aided by a grant of land and money, had, so soon as they obtained power, trampled the principles propounded and the pledges given to the people under their feet and shown that what they meant was that no other Government should, in this way, handle the public money and be able to deal with the public requirements but themselves. The moment they were entrusted with power, in

Sir Charles Tupper

consequence, I suppose, of their high purity and independence of character, they thought it would be safe to change the whole policy, and to take the work into their own hands, although it would involve an enormous direct expenditure by the Government. I ask the support of the House to the amendment because the Government have violated their pledges given to the people, that if power was conceded to them it would never be abused, and the great cardinal principle of their policy would be that not one dollar would be expended without a direct vote of Parliament. I have shown that millions have been expended, I may say millions wasted, without having a vote of Parliament for a single dollar. I am justified in asking the House to pass this censure upon the Government, because their proceedings have been unconstitutional and illegal, and they have violated the law under which they are constructing this work, with respect to the declaration that public tenders must be invited, and the work performed by contract. They have expended public moneys without tenders. I have shown that they have, in an unconstitutional manner, because without any vote of Parliament, they have undertaken to pledge the good faith of Canada to the payment of millions, and by a reckless purchase have saddled the country with a dead loss of over a million and a half, involving an annual charge upon our Treasury of \$75,000 for ever. I have shown that, in addition to their vacillating policy,—a policy changing from hour to hour, a policy of a mixed route one day and an all-rail route the next, of carrying on the works by a private company one day and by the Government the next, and now they propose to revert to the former when they have destroyed all chance of success. I have shown that even in dealing with the small matter of the right of way in an unsettled and unpeopled district at

Appendix

Kaministiquia, the payment was such that if applied to the payment of the right of way for the Intercolonial, which passed in large sections through a settled country, many sections passing through most valuable lands, the amount would have been more than the whole cost of the Intercolonial by something more than three millions of dollars. I have shown you that their policy was a breach of faith, because they have pledged themselves to British Columbia ; they have pledged themselves to the Imperial Government, to construct a railway on Vancouver Island, and to construct a railway from the shores of the Pacific to the shores of Lake Superior by 1890, without any qualification or restriction whatever, both of which they have abandoned. I have shown you that their expenditure during the past year was in contravention of the decision of the House, as arrived at by the resolution of the hon. member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross), because the hon. the First Minister knows that he cannot say that it is not increasing the taxation of the country. With the \$3,000,000 of additional taxation, levied when they first obtained power, gone, with an admitted deficit of \$2,000,000 during the past year, with the demand upon the House this Session for \$500,000 more to meet the ordinary expenditure of the country, I defy the hon. gentleman to say that every dollar he expends on the Canadian Pacific Railway does not increase the existing rate of taxation. And, if it does, I say the resolution prepared, as I believe it was, by the Government, and put into the hands of the hon. member for West Middlesex, and sustained, as it was, by them, was a complete breach of faith of the solemn, binding obligation the Government had made with British Columbia, and with the Imperial Government, that they would proceed with and construct the road within the time stated. The hon. the First Minister

Sir Charles Tupper

stated, in his manifesto to the country, in reference to the connection of immigration to this work :—

“ We shall endeavour to make these great works auxiliary to the promotion of immigration on an extended scale, and to the settlement and development of these rich and fertile territories on which our hopes for the future of Canada are so largely fixed.”

Is there a man in Canada who did not concur in the sentiment propounded there? Is there a man in Canada, who knows anything of the great and fertile country spoken of, who does not think that the future hopes of Canada are, to a large extent, necessarily fixed on that country? And yet, what has been the record of the hon. gentleman? Dealing with the public money with unstinted hand—for Parliament has been ready to place anything demanded in the hon. gentleman's hands—what has been done? Instead of making his Canadian Pacific Railway policy accomplish what every person believes might be accomplished in connection with the settlement of that country—everyone knows that one of the prime considerations in connection with this great work was that it would afford the means of giving valuable, remunerative employment to the immigrants brought into the country to people that magnificent territory—yet the Government have done absolutely nothing towards that end. Was there ever a Government in the position this Government was in, with this matter in their hands, with a support in Parliament such as few Governments have ever possessed, and with the opportunity of advancing the interests of the country in that way without measure and without bounds. And yet, what is the record to-day? The record of votes and proceedings of yesterday shows that the number of immigrants brought to this country in 1873, when not a mile of

Appendix

this road was under contract, was three times as great as during the past year ; that while the cost per head of bringing immigrants to the country has been enormously increased, we stand in the position, that instead of the construction of this great work bringing a tremendous immigration and advancing the interests of Canada in the way the hon. the First Minister held out to the country when he made his address to the people, those expectations have utterly failed ; and that notwithstanding all this expenditure in connection with the work, it has not been attended by increased influx of immigrants, but, on the contrary, a large and rapid decline has taken place. I have referred already to the violation of the law and the utter disregard of Parliamentary authority and the enormous payments of money connected with the Georgian Bay branch and the Canada Central Railroad, in violation of the one and contempt of the other. The whole policy of the Government, as propounded by the hon. gentleman, has been utterly delusive, and to-day we find ourselves without any advance, without anything accomplished, but minus a large sum of money which has been paid to parties who, contrary to the law, were entrusted to carry out contracts. I am sorry that I have been obliged to trespass on the indulgence of the House so long, but I think I have adduced sufficient to support the motion which I now have the honour to move. I have endeavoured, and I think the hon. the First Minister will agree with me, in the statement to avoid every question that could raise an unpleasant topic of discussion between the occupants of the Treasury benches and ourselves. Notwithstanding the great temptation that was presented as I proceeded in this discussion, I have carefully endeavoured to give a simple statement of facts presented by the Government themselves, as brought down in public documents ; and if I have not

Sir Charles Tupper

established successfully that the Government have failed in their duty to the country, and that the course they have pursued on this great question has been detrimental to the interests of the country, then I have no grounds on which to ask for the support of this House. But I feel that the case that has been presented is one which entitles me confidently to ask your support, and if I do not obtain it from this House there is an equally independent tribunal in this country to which I can confidently look for the affirmation of this motion which I have now the honour to offer.

Thanking the House for their indulgence at this late period of the Session which they have kindly given on the ground of the vast importance of the subject, and deeply regretting my own physical inability under the circumstances in which I was compelled to address the House, to deal with the question as vigorously as the interests of the country demand, I beg leave to offer the following resolution :—

“ That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be Resolved, That this House cannot approve of the course pursued by this Government with respect to the Canadian Pacific Railway.”

INDEX

- Abbott, Harry, 113
 Abbott, Sir John, 107, 144, 153
 Aberdeen, Lord, Governor-General, 158
 Adams, Harris L., 21
 Allan, Sir Hugh, 90, 92, 122
 Amherst, 10, 12, 25
 Ancestors of Sir C. Tupper, 9
 Angell, Professor, 191
 Angers, Hon. A. R., 163
 Anti-Confederation, 33-5
 Appendix, 199
 Arbitration fishery, 190
 Archibald, Hon. A. G., 29, 32, 37, 45
 Atlantic service, 157
 Australasian provinces, 183
- Bayard, Hon. Mr., 190 *et seq.*
 Beach, Hon. Sir Michael Hicks, 170, 181, 186
 Behring Sea arbitration, 148
 Belgian and German treaties, 178
 Biographical sketch of Sir Charles Tupper, 8 *et seq.*
 Blake, Edward, 79, 100; denounces railway policy of the Government, 106-7; refuses to serve on Commission, 124; against reciprocity, 150
- Bond, Hon. Mr., 166
 Borden, Hon. R. L., 155, 165
 Bowell, Hon. Sir Mackenzie, 79, 153, 157, 161-2
 Boyd, John, 25
 Bright, John, 34, 46, 47
 British Columbia, 82 *et seq.*
 Brown, Hon. George, 27, 29; appreciation of, 36, 39, 40
 Buckingham, Duke of, 48, 189
 Bunster, Mr., M.P., 110
 Burpee, Isaac, 134
 Butter, Capt., explorer, 89
- Cambie, H. J., 90
 Cameron, Capt., 55, 56, 57, 58
 Cameron, Mrs., 55, 56, 57, 58
 Carlton Club, remark by Sir C. Tupper, 124
 Carnarvon, Lord, 32, 34, 35, 48, 94
 Caron, Sir Adolphe, 151
 Carrall, Dr., 87
 Cartier, Sir George E., 8, 27, 32, appreciation of, 36; and first Dominion Government, 38, 48, 54; and debate on Riel, 79; defeat and death, 91
 Cartwright, Sir Richard, 50, 79, 136, 138

Sir Charles Tupper

- Cauchon, Hon. Mr., 134
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph, 145, 157, 160, 181, 182 ; and fisheries treaty, 189 *et seq.*
Chapais, Hon. Mr., 40
Chapleau, Sir J. A., 163
Charlottetown Conference, 26
Cheadle, Dr., explorer, 89
Chesson, Mr., 35
Church, Mr., of Lunenburg, 91
Clark, Judge, 117
Clarke, Col. and Mrs., 108
Coal, 168
Colmer, secretary to Sir C. Tupper, 22
Confederation, Quebec Conference, 28 ; London Conference, 31, 32 ; first Federal Government, 32 *et seq.*
Country doctor, life of, 13
C.P.R. syndicate, 104
Cranston, British minister at Washington, 19
Crow's Nest Pass, 93
- Dennis, Col., 59
Dickey, Hon. R. B., 29
Disraeli, B., 36
Dominion Government, first, 37
Douglas, Sir James, 83
Dufferin, Marquis of, 81, 95, 125-6, 187
Dunsmuir, Hon. R., 110
Durham, Lord, 19
- Edgar, Hon. J. D., 94
Education in Manitoba, 161
Education in Nova Scotia, 31
Empire confederation, 170
- Federating the Empire, 170
Fielding, Hon. W. S., 145, 155
Fisher, Hon. Chas., 32
Fisheries treaty, 189
Fitzmaurice, Lord, 187
Fleming, Sir Sandford, 89, 107, 113
Forster, Rt. Hon. W. E., 171
Fort Garry, trip to, 58 *et seq.*
Fraser, Graham, 155, 156
Fraser, Simon, explorer, 89
- Galt, Hon. Alex. T., 27, 32, 38, 44, 49, 50, 186
Goschen, Lord, 156-7
Grant, Principal, 90
- Hannington, C. F., 90
Harkin, William A., his characteristics, ix ; biographical details, xii
Helmcken, Dr. J. S., 87
Henry, Hon. W. A., 29, 32
Higgins, D. W., 87
Hill, G. G., 104, 114
Hincks, Sir Francis, 49, 79
Holt, H. S., 113
Holt, T. G., 113
Howe, Hon. Joseph, Sir C. Tupper's first contest with, 16, 17 ; and proscription of Roman Catholics, 19 ; mission to New York for Crimean volunteers, 19 ; motion on Confederation (1861), 21 ; and Charlottetown Conference, 26 ; his change of opinion, 30 ; joins delegation to London to oppose

Index

- union, 33; writes a pamphlet, *ibid.*; threatens to defeat Confederation, 41; meets Sir C. Tupper in London, 44; visits Duke of Buckingham, 48; becomes a member of Sir John A. Macdonald's administration, 49; his death, 52
- Howland, Hon. W. P., 32, 37, 39
- Hudson's Bay Company, 54
- Huntington, Hon. L. S., 91, 122
- Imperial federation, 170
- Iron industry, 154
- Jersey, Earl of, 180
- Johnson, Hon. J. M., 32
- Johnstone, Hon. W. G., 18
- Jones, Hon. A. G., 138
- Keefer, Mr., eminent engineer, 117
- Kennedy, Mr., and C.P.R. Syndicate, 104
- Kennedy, Sir C. M., 187, 188
- Kenny, Sir Edward, 40, 46
- Kicking Horse Pass, 93
- Laird, Hon. David, 134
- Langevin, Hon. Hector L., 27, 32, 40, 79, 147, 160, 161
- Lansdowne, Marquis of, 191
- Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, 24, 100, 158, 161, 163, 164; appreciation of, 165, 180, 181
- Lemay, 70, 74
- London Conference on Confederation, 31
- Lorne, Marquis of, 114, 157
- Lowther, Rt. Hon. James, 180
- Lytton, Bulwer, 36
- Macdonald, Sir John A., 3; at the Quebec Conference, 27; and legislative union, 29; chairman of London Conference on Confederation, 32; forms first federal Government, 37 *et seq.*; estranged from Sir R. Cartwright, 50; asks Sir C. Tupper to interview Riel, 56; and debate on Riel, 79; and the inclusion of B.C., 82-4; and the "Pacific Scandal," 92; appoints Sir C. Tupper Minister of Railways, 97; his railway policy, 100; appoints a Royal Commission *re* "Pacific Slander," 117; sustained in elections (1872), 121; defeat in Parliament, 127; returns to power, 145; offers Sir C. Tupper the leadership in succession, 147; his last campaign, 149; his death, 151, 170
- Macdougall, Hon. Wm., 27, 32, 39, 50, 54, 56, 61, 79
- Macdougall, Sister, 68, 73
- Macfarlane, A., 16
- MacIntyre, Duncan, 103, 104
- Mackenzie, Hon. Alexander, 79, 90, 92, 93, 100, 131, 139

Sir Charles Tupper

- Mackenzie, Sir William, 113
Macoun, Prof., 89
Macpherson, Sir David, 122
Manitoba Schools, 161
Mann, Sir Donald D., 113
Marpole, 113
Masson, Hon. Mr., 51, 77, 79
Miall, expert accountant, 115
Milton, Lord, explorer, 89
Mitchell, Hon. Peter, 32; appreciation of, 37, 40
Moberley, Walter, 89
Monck, Lord, 39
Morier, Sir Robert, 187
Morse, Frances, 25
Morse, Silas, 25
Moss, Judge, 153
Mountstephen, Lord, 102, 104, 116, 146
Mowat, Hon. Oliver, 29
Musgrave, Anthony, and Confederation, 83, 87
McCarthy, Dalton, 163
McCarthy, Justin, 35
McCully, Jonathan, 29, 32
McGee, Hon. D'Arcy, 27, 28; appreciation of, 37, 38, 39
McLelan, Hon. A. W., head of Finance Department, 116
McNeill, Alexander, M.P., 172
McTavish, Governor of Hudson's Bay Co., 57

"National Policy," 120
New Brunswick, 31, 82
Newfoundland and Canada, 166
Newfoundland and Quebec Conference, 28

"Nineteenth Century," article by Sir C. Tupper, 182
North-West Territories, 54
Norton, Lord, 114
Onderdonk, Andrew, contractor, 98

"Pacific Scandal," 120 *et seq.*
Parker, Hon. Dr., 108
Patterson, Hon. Wm., 155
Pen-sketch of Sir C. Tupper, 3, 5
Pope, John Henry, 102, 112, 114, 146
Port Moody, 99
Preferential trade, 172
Putnam, Judge, 191

Quebec Conference on Confederation, 28

Raymur, Capt., 109
Reinach, Baron, 104, 105
"Reminiscences," origin of publication, v
Revelstoke, Lord, head of Barings and Glyn, 116
Richot, Father, 65, 70, 71, 73
Riel, Louis, 57, 70, 73, 147
Riel, Sister, 68, 80
Ritchie, Hon. J. W., 32, 182
Robertson, Andrew, 108, 110
Robinson, John Beverley, 133
Robson, Hon. John, 87
Roman Catholics, attitude towards, 18-19
Rose, Sir John, 49, 104, 116-17, 157
Rosebery, Lord, 173, 175

Index

- Ross, James, 113
Roulette, Mr., U.S. Customs Officer, 65
- Salaberry, Col. de, 57, 74
Salisbury, Lord, 177
Saunders, Rev. Dr., author of "Three Premiers of Nova Scotia," 9
Schreiber, Collingwood, 108
Schultz, Dr., 73
Seelye, H. E., 87
Seward, Hon. W. H., U.S. Secretary of State, 129
Seymour, Governor, 83, 86
Shaughnessy, Sir Thos., 113; appreciation of, *ibid.*
Smith, Donald A. (Lord Strathcona), 60, 63, 65, 68, 104; drives last spike in C.P.R. (1885), 108, 162
Smith, Sir Albert, 134
South African War, 165
Speech, Dr. Tupper's first, 15, 16; five hours' ditto, 199 *et seq.*
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Col., 189
Steyen, George (Lord Mountstephen), 102, 104, 116, 146
Strathcona, Lord. *See* Donald A. Smith.
- Tarte, J. Israel, M.P., 151; and Langevin charges, 152, 163
Telegram, "Please send me another \$10,000," 122
Thibeault, Grand Vicar, 57, 74
Thompson, Sir John, 153, 154, 161
- Tilley, Hon. S. L., 31, 32; appreciation of, 37, 135, 170
Tingley, Steve, 111
"Toronto Globe," 36, 117
Trutch, Sir Joseph, 87
Tupper, Sir C., Bt., stay in Vancouver; ninety-one years old; characteristics and pen-portrait, 5; birth and ancestry, 8; education, 10; surroundings of his youth, 11; course at Edinburgh, 12; begins medical practice, 12 *et seq.*; preparation for Parliament, 14; begins politics, 16; first political speech, *ibid.*; accepts party nomination, 17; antagonism of Howe, *ibid.*; declines premiership of N.S., 18; foreshadows Confederation, 20; initiates B.N.A. Act, 21; as Canadian High Commissioner, 22 *et seq.*; leaves Canada, 1913, 25; marriage, *ibid.*; Premier of N.S., 26; attends conference at Charlottetown, 26; attends Quebec Conference on Confederation, 28; enacts educational measures, 31; proposes London Conference, 31; attends same, 32 *et seq.*; replies to Howe, 33 *et seq.*; assists in forming first Dominion Government, 37 *et seq.*; public debate with Howe, 41; waits upon Queen Victoria, 48; meets

Sir Charles Tupper

Howe in London, 44 ; interview with John Bright, 46 ; visits Duke of Buckingham, 48 ; becomes President of Council at Ottawa, 51 ; undertakes trip to Fort Garry, 53 *et seq.* ; hardships of his journey, 59 *et seq.* ; interviews Riel and his council, 70 *et seq.* ; further hardships, 74 *et seq.* ; takes prominent part in discussion of Riel rebellion, 76 ; takes portfolio of Inland Revenue, 81 ; becomes Minister of Railways and Canals, 97 ; reports on transcontinental railway, 98 ; makes railway proposals, 101 ; financial mission to London, 102 *et seq.* ; controverts adverse criticisms, 106 ; makes official trip to British Columbia (1881), 108 ; inspects line in middle West, 111 ; goes to England as High Commissioner (1883), 112 ; returns on emergency to Canada, 114 *et seq.* ; repels charges by "Toronto Globe," 117 ; and "Pacific Scandal," 120 ; and Marquis of Dufferin, 125 ; in elections of 1874, 130 ; resumes medical practice, 131 ; amusing encounter with Mr. Mackenzie, 132 ; campaign of the seventies, 133-4 ; his five hours' speech, 135 ; supports "National Policy,"

136 *et seq.* ; his iron and steel policy, 144 ; and campaign of 1887, 145 ; declines leadership, 147 ; and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper 148 ; returns to England, 151 ; attends congress in Vienna, 158 ; leads in trans-Pacific service, 156 ; takes up fast Atlantic service, 157 ; and Conservative defeat, 159 ; declines leadership of party (1895), 161 ; becomes Premier of Canada, 162 *et seq.* ; attitude towards Newfoundland, 166 ; and Empire consolidation, 170 ; discusses Imperial Federation, 171 *et seq.* ; his letter to the Colonial Secretary, 178 *et seq.* ; writes in the "Nineteenth Century," 182 *et seq.* ; his part in the fisheries treaty with the U.S.A., 189 ; visits Mr. Bayard, 190 ; fellow-plenipotentiary with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, 191 ; receives honour of a baronetcy from Queen Victoria, 195 ; his speech on fisheries treaty in the House of Commons, 196-8

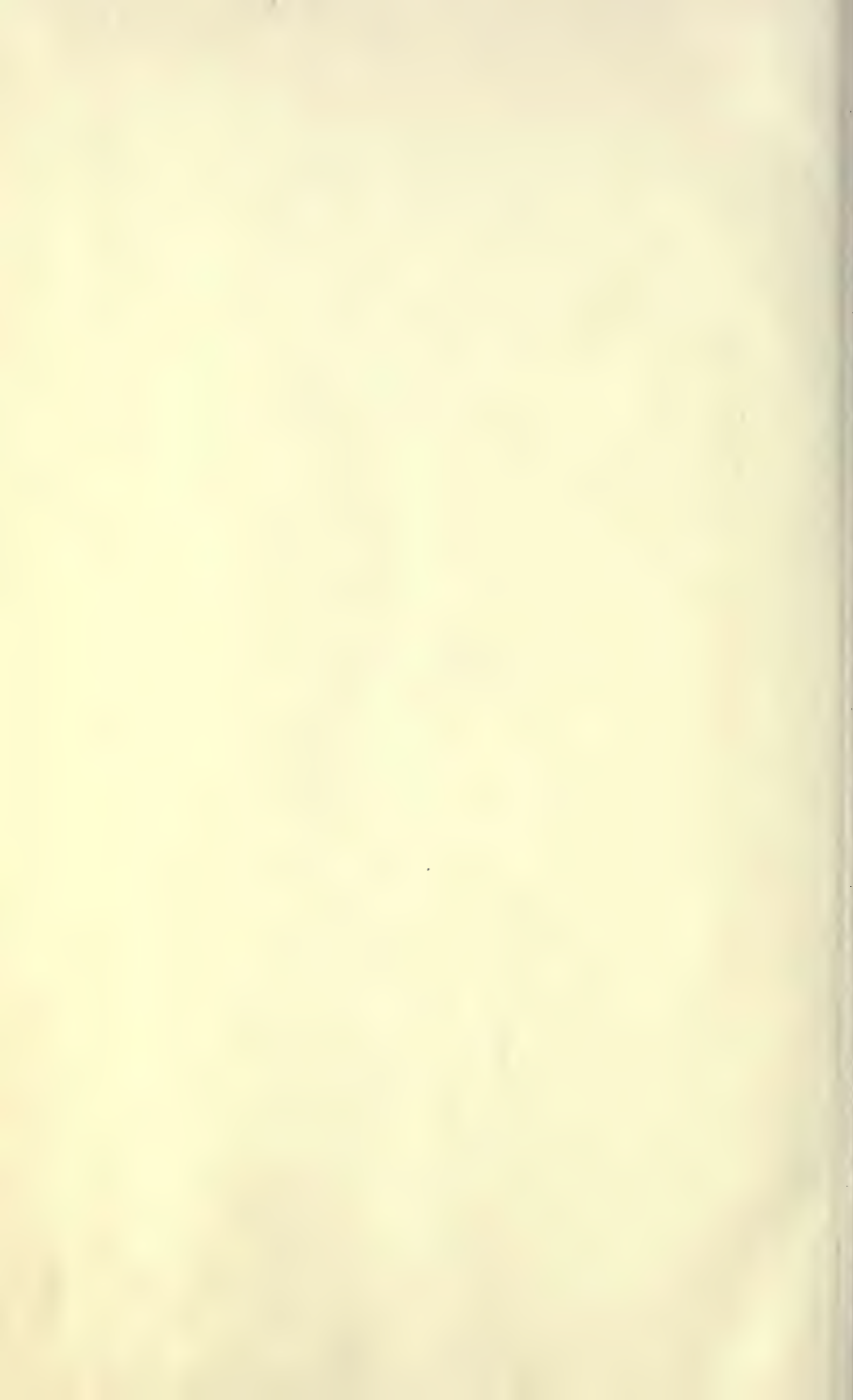
Tupper, Sir Charles Hibbert, 3 ; visits Sault Ste. Marie, 145 ; enters public life, 148 ; Minister of Marine, 148 ; knighthood, 148 ; Behring Sea arbitration, 148 ; suggested as High Commissioner, 162 ; resigns after twenty-

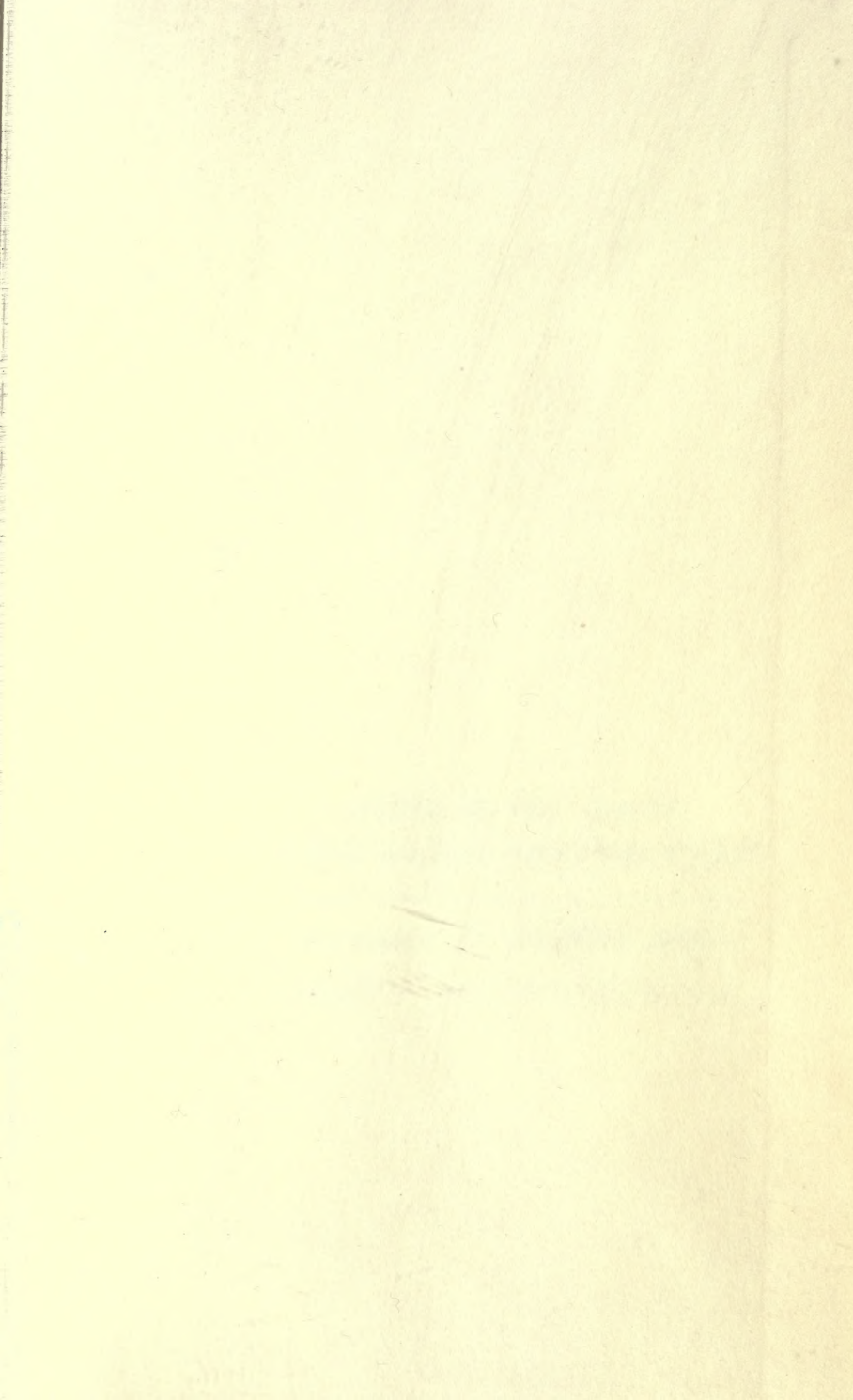
Index

- two years' service, 165 ;
complimented by Edward
Blake, 149
- Tyler, Sir H., Pres. G.T.R.,
103, 104
- Unionists and food taxes, 167
- United States and reciprocity,
143
- Vancouver city, 1, 109
- Van Horne, Sir W. C., 112
- Veterinarian, Sir C. Tupper as,
22 et seq.
- Victoria, Queen, 43
- Vincent, Col. Sir Howard, 180
- West, Sir Lionel Sackville,
191
- White, Hon. Mr., Minister of
Finance, 119
- White, T. H., 90, 113
- Whitney, H. M., 155, 156
- Wilmot, Hon. R. D., 32
- Wolfe, Thos. Andrew de, 16
- Wolseley, Sir Garnet, 80
- Yellowhead Pass, 94

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